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THROUGH THE

SPIRITUAL WARFARE, CHRISTIAN LABOURS, AND WRITINGS,

OF THAT

ABLE AND FAITHFUL SERVANT OF JESUS CHRIST,

ROBERT BARCLAY.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

An Account of his Life and Writings.

He being dead, yet speaketh.—Heb. xi. 4.

IN THREE VOLUMES.--VOL. I.

From the Octavo Edition of 1718, collated with the Folio Edition of 1692.

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AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

ROBERT BARCLAY.

INTRODUCTION

To the Account of the Life and Writings of ROBERT BARCLAY.

THOUGH the memory of ROBERT BARCLAY is not likely to perish, it seems desirable to add one more memorial of him to those already existing: chiefly for the purpose of bringing his life and labours into a narrow point of view; and of furnishing many of his numerous descendants, whose usual avocations do not lead them to the study of his writings and character, with a portrait of their honourable predecessor, that it may excite their admiration, engage their esteem, and induce their imitation.

Imitation, indeed, as it is not the source of virtue, so neither can it be virtue's support; yet the examples of pious men in preceding ages are encouragements to the pious of the present, and are a call upon such as have not yet arrived at equal degrees of spiritual attainment, to examine the nature of the obstruction. Seeing, 'the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him,' we must, probably, seek in ourselves for the cause of the difference which we observe; and should we be persuaded to make proof of his riches, goodness, and mercy, by calling upon him, in an humble sense of our misery and want—a want which no other riches can supply—we shall find it no disgrace to our character, to be found 'followers of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises.'

The following account of ROBERT BARCLAY is comprised under two general heads. The first contains a survey of his origin, education, progress in religion, and the chief events of his life. The other mentions his writings, the time and motives of their publication; and gives a brief description of their contents.

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF ROBERT BARCLAY.

PART I.

His origin—education—progress in religion—and the chief events of his life.

ROBERT BARCLAY was born at Gordonstoun* in the shire of Murray, the 23d of December (then tenth month) 1648. William Penn has mentioned Edinburgh as the place of his birth; but this, according to the account preserved in his family, is erroneous. †His lineal ancestors are traced back, by unquestionable documents, to Theobald de Berkeley, who lived in the reign of David I. king of Scotland. This king came to the throne in 1124, and was consequently contemporary with Henry I. of England, son of the Norman conqueror.

Alexander de Berkeley, the fourth in succession from Theobald, having obtained by marriage, in 1351, the lands of Mathers, the family afterwards became designated by the appellation of De Berkeley of Mathers; until his grandson, called also Alexander, changed the name to the present mode of spelling, Barclay. Such a change seems to imply but little acquaintance with books and records; yet this Alexander was reputed to be a scholar; and to him are ascribed some verses

* Memoirs of the life of Col. D. Barclay of Ury, and of his eldest son R Barclay of Ury, p. 31.

† Genealogical Account of the Barclays of Ury, &c.

said to be written by a *laird* of Mathers, as advice to his son. The verses, whoever may have been the author, are worth preserving, both for their piety and good sense, and, supposing them to be his, as a specimen of Scottish poetry in the fifteenth century.

Giff thou desire thy house lang stand,
And thy successors bruik thy land,
Abive all things, lief God in fear;
Intromit nought with wrangous gear;
Nor conquess nothing wrangously;
With thy neighbour keep charity.
See that thou pass not thy estate;
Obey duly thy magistrate;
Oppress not, but support the puire;
To help the common weill take cuire.
Use no deceit; mell not with treason;
And to all men do right and reason.
Both unto word and deed be true;
All kind of wickedness eschew.
Slay no man; nor thereto consent;
Be nought cruel, but patient.
Allya ay in some guid place,
With noble, honest, godly race.
Hate huirdome, and all vices flee;
Be humble; haunt guid companie,
Help thy friend and do nae wrang,
And God shall make thy house stand lang.

If this be really the production of the first Barclay, it is probable that the spelling of some of the words has been modernised.

The eighth in descent from Alexander Barclay, was David Barclay; who, being in straitened circumstances through expensive living, sold his paternal estate of Mathers, after it had remained three hundred years in the family, and also a more ancient inheritance which had been held five hundred years. The designation of Barclay of Mathers was consequently lost; and in 1648, on the purchase of Ury by David, son of the last Barclay of Mathers, and father to Robert, the family assumed that of Barclay of Ury, which the spirit of feudal times, still surviving in Scotland, is disposed to retain.

This description of pedigree may seem impertinent in religious biography. It must be allowed that, unconnected with virtue in the descendant, pedigree, when laid in the balance, 'is altogether lighter than vanity.'* It serves, among such as have not learned in the school of Christ, to prompt, and to foster human pride. But when we see persons, distinguished by birth and rank, deeming them of little value, in comparison of 'the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus the Lord;' we perceive the sincerity and strength of their faith, and the prevalence of that power which can redeem from the love of earthly enjoyments.

Before entering into the life of Robert Barclay, it may be proper to advert for a short time to that of his father, David Barclay of Ury, commonly called Colonel Barclay; who was born at Kirktounhill, the seat of the Barclays of Mathers, in 1610.† In his youth he was a volunteer in the army under Gustavus Adolphus king of Sweden, in which he rose to the rank of major. On the breaking out of the civil wars, he returned home, and became colonel of a regiment of horse on the side of the king; but on the success of Cromwell in Scotland he lost his military employments, which he never after resumed. In 1647 he married Katharine Gordon, daughter of Sir Robert Gordon, of Gordonstoun.

Notwithstanding his attachment to the royal cause, he was committed, after the restoration, a prisoner to Edinburgh castle; but was liberated, without any thing being laid to his charge, or any reason given for his commitment.‡ In this prison he met with John Swinton,§ a person who had been in the interest of Cromwell, and who was confined on that account. Swinton had been attainted of treason by the Scottish Parliament about nine years before, but had escaped into England; whence, on the revival of the regal government, he was sent a prisoner to Edinburgh. During

* Psalm lxii. 9. † Memoirs, p. 14. ‡ Biog. Brit.

§ In the Memoirs, p. 51, he is called "The Laird of Swinton. He had been one of the lords of session."

his residence in England, he had adopted the religious principles of the Society of Friends; and when in Edinburgh castle, he was more concerned to spread them, than to defend his life. This person is said to have been the instrument of convincing David Barclay of the truth of these principles: but, according to his son's account, he did not profess them openly till a few years after. David Barclay underwent the indignities and imprisonments, which were often the lot of our early Friends; and he died in the year 1686.* On one occasion, having met with particular abuse from the populace of Aberdeen, he remarked that he felt more satisfaction, as well as honour, in being so insulted for his religious principles, than he used to feel, when the magistrates, to gain his favour, were accustomed to meet him at a distance from the city, and conduct him to public entertainments in the town-house; accompanying him afterwards as many miles on his way from them.

The following account of the close of his life, is taken from the testimony of his son.†

In his illness, which continued about a fortnight, 'he signified a quiet, contented mind, freely resigned to the will of God. About two days before his death, feeling his weakness with the pain [from the gravel], in an agony he said, 'I am going now;' and then instantly checking himself, added, 'But I shall go to the Lord, and be gathered to many of my brethren who are gone before me; and to my dear son.'‡

"The 11th of the 8th month, between two and three in the morning, he growing weaker, I drew nigh to him. He said, 'Is this my son?' I said 'yea,' and spake a few words signifying my travail that He that loved him might be near him to the end. He answered, 'The Lord is nigh,' repeating it once again, saying 'You are my witnesses, in the presence of God, that the Lord is

* Memoirs, p. 31. † Barclay's Works, fol. 907.

‡ This was the youngest son, David, who died at sea, about a year before. He was an amiable youth, of exemplary life and conversation, and was an acceptable minister among Friends.

nigh.' And a little after he said, 'The perfect discovery of the day spring from on high! how great a blessing it hath been to me, and to my family!' My wife desiring to know if he would have something to wet his mouth, he said it needeth not. She said it would refresh him. He laid his hand upon his breast, saying, 'He had that inwardly that refreshed him.' And after a little while he added, divers times, these words, 'The truth is over all.'

"An apothecary coming near, he took him by the hand, saying, 'Thou wilt bear me witness, that in all this exercise I have not been curious to tamper, nor to pamper the flesh.' He answered, 'Sir, I can bear witness that you have always minded the better, and more substantial part; and rejoice to see the blessed end the Lord is bringing you to.' He replied, 'Bear a faithful and true witness; yet it is the life of righteousness,' repeating these words twice over, 'that we bear testimony to, and not to an empty profession.' Then he called several times, 'Come, Lord Jesus, come, come.' And again, 'My hope is in the Lord.' Observing a countryman coming into the room, he thought it had been one of his tenants, who was a carpenter; I telling him it was not he, but another, he said, 'See thou tell him to make no manner of superfluity upon my coffin.'

"About three in the afternoon several friends came to see him. After some words were spoken, and Patrick Livingstone had prayed, which ended in praises, he held up his hands and said, 'Amen! Amen for ever!' And after they stood up looking at him, he said, 'How precious is the love of God among his children; and their love one to another! Thereby shall all men know that ye are Christ's disciples, if you love one another. How precious a thing it is to see brethren dwell together in love! My love is with you. I leave it among you!'

"About eight at night, perceiving some to weep, he said, 'Dear friends, all mind the inward man. Heed

not the outward. There is one that doth regard. The Lord of Hosts is his name.' After he heard the clock strike three in the morning, he said, 'Now the time comes.' And a little after he was heard to say, 'Praises, praises, praises to the Lord! Let now thy servant depart in peace. Into thy hands, O Father, I commit my soul, spirit, and body. Thy will, O Lord, be done in earth, as it is in heaven.'

"And so, a little after five in the morning, the 12th day of the 8th month, 1686, he fell asleep."

He was interred in the burying-ground at Ury, which he had allotted for his own family, and for Friends.

Robert Barclay, the subject of this narrative, received the rudiments of learning in his native country, and after having gone through the best schools there, he was sent to the Scots' College at Paris, of which his uncle Robert (son of the last Barclay of Mathers) was the rector. Here he made so great a proficiency in his studies as to gain the notice and praises of the masters of the college; and he also became so great a favourite with his uncle, as to receive the offer of being made his heir, if he would remain in France. But his father, fearing that he might become tainted with the superstitions of popery, and in compliance with his mother's dying request, went to Paris in order to bring him home, when he was not much more than sixteen years of age. The uncle still endeavoured to prevent his return; and proposed to purchase for him, and present to him immediately, an estate greater than his paternal one. Robert replied, 'He is my father, and must be obeyed.' Thus he sacrificed interest to filial duty: and the uncle, disobliged, left his property to the college, and to other religious houses in France. The return of Robert Barclay to Scotland was in the year 1664.*

The following passage contains some account of his religious experience in childhood and youth. It is ex-

* Memoirs, 31, &c.

tracted, nearly in his own words, from the introduction to his Treatise on Universal Love: 'My first education, from my infancy, fell among the strictest sort of Calvinists; those of our country being generally acknowledged to be the severest of that sect; in the heat of zeal surpassing not only Geneva, from whence they derive their pedigree, but all other the reformed churches abroad, so called. I had scarce got out of my childhood, when I was, by the permission of Divine Providence, cast among the company of Papists; and my tender years and immature capacity not being able to withstand and resist the insinuations that were used to proselyte me to that way, I became quickly defiled with the pollutions thereof; and continued therein for a time, until it pleased God, through his rich love and mercy, to deliver me out of those snares, and to give me a clear understanding of the evil of that way. In both these sects I had abundant occasion to receive impressions contrary to this principle of *love:* seeing the straitness of several of their doctrines, as well as their practice of persecution, do abundantly declare how opposite they are to universal love. The time that intervened betwixt my forsaking the church of Rome, and joining those with whom I now stand engaged, I kept myself free from joining with any sort of people, though I took liberty to hear several; and my converse was most with those that inveigh much against *judging*, and such kind of severity: which latitude may perhaps be esteemed the other extreme, opposite to the preciseness of those other sects; whereby I also received an opportunity to know what usually is *pretended* on that side likewise. As for those I am now joined to, I justly esteem them to be the true followers and servants of Jesus Christ.'

It does not appear that R. Barclay was convinced of the truth of Friends' principles, merely by the means of preaching. In his Apology, Prop. XI. § 7. speaking of himself, he says, 'Who, not by strength of argument, or by a particular disquisition of each doctrine, and con-

vincement of my understanding thereby, came to receive and bear witness of the truth; but by being secretly reached by this life. For when I came into the silent assemblies of God's people, I felt a secret power amongst them which touched my heart; and as I gave way unto it, I found the evil weakening me in, and the good raised up; and so I became thus knit and united unto them, hungering more and more after the increase of this power and life, whereby I might find myself perfectly redeemed.'

In the month called February, 1669-70, Robert Barclay married Christian Mollison, daughter of Gilbert Mollison, a merchant in Aberdeen; and on his marriage settled at Ury, with his father. The issue of this marriage was three sons and four daughters; viz. Robert, David, John, Patience, Katharine, Christian, and Jane; all of whom survived him, and were living fifty years after his death. The education of these children, on account of the early death of their father, was of course much under the care of his widow.

In the life of John Gratton, there is a pleasing and instructive account of this excellent mother's solicitude, to imbue the tender minds of her children with pious and good principles. The passage is as follows: 'I observed (1694) that when her children were up in the morning, and dressed, she sat down with them, before breakfast; and in a religious manner waited upon the Lord: which pious care, and motherly instruction of her children, when young, doubtless had its desired effect upon them; for, as they grew in years, they also grew in the knowledge of the blessed truth, and since that time some of them have become public preachers thereof.'

Believing it to be her duty to appear as a preacher of righteousness, she was very solicitous that her example might, in all respects, correspond with her station. The following extracts from the testimony of the monthly meeting of Ury, as they exhibit some striking

traits of the character of this amiable and pious woman, will doubtless be acceptable to the reader.

'She was religiously inclined from her youth; and publicly embraced the testimony of truth, in the love of it, in early years, viz. about the sixteenth year of her age, and that through many hardships and sufferings; in which she walked all along suitably to what she professed. Her travail was great for the prosperity of the blessed truth, and for all who professed it, that they might witness possession, which is far beyond profession. She laid herself out to assist, and give advice to sick people; and supplied their necessities, especially the poor; many of whom came ten, twenty, thirty, and some forty miles, and upwards, receiving great benefit; for her success was wonderful: and great is the lamentation made for her removal, among the poor and sick. She was a well accomplished woman every way, and of singular virtues, which she improved, to the praise of the Lord. When we call to mind the solidity, the soundness, the seriousness that attended her; the care and concern she was under, that no slackness, or unconcernedness might be in the church, but that diligence might be used to make our calling and election sure; the great and daily concern, which was attended with a good effect, for the preservation of her children and grandchildren, of whom she commonly had eight or ten in the family with her; and how exemplarily she walked before them; we cannot avoid lamenting the loss of her.

'She was taken ill the 12th of the 3d month, 1722; and from that time until her removal she continued weakly. Comfortable to us is the remembrance of the many precious seasons we then had in her company, and under her ministry; her concern for the truth and church's prosperity continuing with her to the last, her earnest travail being then, as it had been all her life long, to be a faithful labourer for God; who had been with her, and blessed her with his presence, from her youth upwards; and who remarkably attended her to

the drawing of her last breath; which was in great peace, joy, and quietness, upon the 14th of the 12th month, 1723, in the 76th year of her age.'

Robert Barclay after his marriage, lived about sixteen years with his father; in which time most of the tracts were written, that have gained him so much reputation as a religious writer. His time however was not all passed in endeavouring to serve the cause of religion with his pen. He both acted and suffered for it. The earliest transaction recorded of him, is one which, probably, would not have been expected from a person of the turn of mind which Robert Barclay appears, from his writings, to have possessed; namely, the passing through the streets of Aberdeen clothed in sackloth.* This action is branded, by the writer of his life in the General Biography now publishing, with the name of enthusiasm; and is even stigmatised with marks of contempt, by his eulogist in the Biographia Britannica: by each of them, however, his sincerity is allowed. After he had thus become 'a spectacle to men,'† he wrote a short address on the subject to the inhabitants of Aberdeen. The following extract from it exhibits the motive and design of his exposure; and shows that he did not engage in it, without previously opening his intention to some of his religious associates. 'Therefore was I commanded of the Lord to pass through your streets covered with sackcloth and ashes, calling you to *repentance*, that ye might yet be more awakened, and alarmed to take notice of the Lord's voice unto you; and not to despise these things which belong to your peace, whilst your day lasteth, lest hereafter they be hid from your eyes. And the command of the Lord concerning this thing came unto me that very morning as I awakened, and the burden thereof was very great; yea, seemed almost insupportable unto me (for such a thing until that very moment, had never entered me before, not in the most remote consideration.) And some whom I called, to declare to them

* This was in the year 1672. † Barclay's Works, 105.

this thing, can bear witness how great was the agony of my spirit; how I besought the Lord with tears that this cup might pass away from me; yea, how the pillars of my tabernacle were shaken, and how exceedingly my bones trembled, until I freely gave up to the Lord's will. And this was the end and tendency of my testimony, to call you to repentance, by this signal and singular step; which I, as to my own will and inclination, was as unwilling to be found in, as the worst and the wickedest of you can be averse from receiving, or laying it to heart. Let all and every one of you, in whom there is yet alive the least regard to God, or his fear, consider and weigh this matter in the presence of God, and by the spirit of Jesus Christ in your hearts, which makes all things manifest. Search and examine, every one in his own soul, how far this warning and voice of the Lord is applicable unto them; and how great need they have to be truly humbled in their spirits; returning unto the Lord in their inward parts, with such true and unfeigned repentance, as answers to the outward clothing of sackcloth, and being covered with ashes—Consider, where are ye who are called Christians; among whom it is become a wonder, a stone of stumbling, or matter of mockery, or a ground of reproach, for one, in the name of the Lord, to invite you to repentance, in sackcloth and ashes? Would not the heathen condemn you in this thing? and will not Nineveh stand up in judgment against you? How is it that ye that are called Christians can willingly give room to every idle mountebank, and can suffer your minds to be drawn out to behold these sinful divertisements, which indeed divert the mind from the serious sense of God's fear? The people can be gathered there, and neither the magistrates complain of tumult, or yet preachers and professors cry out against it as delusion or madness. O my friends, consider; can there be any more strongly deluded, than for people daily to acknowlege and confess they are sinners and sinning, in words; and to startle at that which did so lively represent unto them what

they own to be their own state and condition? I shall add that which, upon this occasion, I declared unto you, I was for a sign from the Lord unto you; I desire ye may not be among those that wonder and perish, but rather repent and be saved. And this is my testimony unto you whether ye will hear or forbear. I have peace with my God in what I have done, and am satisfied that his requirings I have answered in this thing.'

Though Robert Barclay kept some account of the transactions of his life; yet, the manuscript book containing that account having been lost, it is only from the incidental mention of them in the writings of others, that many things respecting him can be collected and arranged.

Andrew Jaffray intimates, that Robert Barclay sometimes availed himself of the opportunity, which the national congregations afforded, of promulgating the doctrines of the society. His first visit to London was probably in 1674, as we find from a passage in the journal of John Gratton, who in that year, together with Robert Barclay, Patrick Livingstone, and William Hague, paid a visit to the notorious Ludowick Muggleton.* The next year, 1675,† conjointly with George Keith, he was engaged in a public dispute with some of the students in the university of Aberdeen. Though this dispute did not terminate to the satisfaction of the disputants on either side, yet it was attended, as is said, with this effect, that it proved the means of convincing four other students, who were part of the auditory, of the truth of the principles maintained by Robert Barclay. In 1676‡ he travelled again to London on a religious visit to his friends; and made a similar visit in Holland and Germany. In this journey he commenced an acquaintance with Elizabeth, princess-palatine of the Rhine; with whom, as appears from a letter she wrote to him on his return, he had a conference on religious subjects. After he had com-

* Gratton's Life, page 69, Edit. 1725.
† Barclay's Works, p. 569. ‡ Memoirs, p. 35.

pleted this visit, he returned to London, where he received intelligence of the imprisonment of his father, with some other Friends, at Aberdeen. On this occasion, he presented into the hands of the king, Charles II. the following petition.

'The state of the case of the people called Quakers, in Scotland, presented unto the king's consideration.

'The Council of Scotland having about three months ago, emitted a declaration to reinforce former acts of Parliament against conventicles, and recommended the execution of them, because of the abuse several persons had made of the king's indulgence, as the said declaration intimates; some inferior magistrates have taken occasion thereby to imprison many of them; and some deputies of the county have stretched the laws against conventicles to the utmost pitch of severity, by heavy fines and tedious imprisonments, although their practices and principles never gave ground for such procedure.

'It is therefore, on behalf of the said suffering people, with all sincere respect, desired, that it would please the king favourably to recommend their case to the Councils of Scotland; that a difference of character may be put upon them who have ever lived and behaved themselves peaceably under the present government, from such that are said to have abused the indulgence; with some present relief to those harmless sufferers, to prevent their utter ruin; which in all probability will attend so many of them that live by their labour and trade. (Signed) 'R. Barclay.'

By the king's direction the following laconic order was quickly underwritten to the remonstrance of Barclay, viz.

'His majesty is graciously pleased to refer this paper to the right honourable the lords of his majesty's privy council of Scotland.

(Signed) 'Lauderdale.'

Whitehall, August 17th, 1676.

In this year 1676, Barclay's Apology was first pub-

lished. He was then in the 28th year of his age. To say much of his writings, in this place, would be a deviation from the plan proposed: but it may not be improper to observe, that it is to the credit of Charles II. that he took no offence at the Christian freedom, which Robert Barclay had used in his famous *inscription* of that work to him. On the contrary, it is not improbable that it made way for the favourable reception of the remonstrance in question.

We have very little account of the particular object of Robert Barclay's visit to the continent which has been just mentioned. It may, however, be conjectured, that the publication of the Apology, which was printed at Amsterdam, was a part of it. Probably this book was presented to the king, on R. Barclay's return from the continent.

It does not appear that the king's interference procured the release of David Barclay and the other prisoners.* Soon after Robert's return home, he was himself imprisoned: but he was so far indulged as to be put into a better, or more properly, a less disgusting prison than the rest.†

His commitment was on the seventh of the ninth month (November), 1676; and in the following month the news of his confinement reached his friend the princess-palatine, probably with some circumstances of exaggeration, as appears from the following letter to her brother, the prince Rupert.

Herford, December 19th, 1676.

'Dear Brother,

'I wrote to you some months ago, by Robert Barclay, who passed this way, and hearing I was your sister, desired to speak with me. I knew him to be a Quaker by his hat, and took occasion to inform myself

* Besse's Collection of the Sufferings of the people called Quakers, Vol. 2. Article Scotland.

† The Tolbooth at Aberdeen seems to have been divided into the *upper* and *lower* prisons. The upper was the worse.

of all their opinions: finding they were [accustomed*] to submit to magistrates in real things, omitting the ceremonial, I wished in my heart, the king might have many such subjects. And since, I have heard, that, notwithstanding his majesty's most gracious letters in his behalf to the Council of Scotland, he has been clapped up in prison with the rest of his friends, and they threaten to hang them, at least those they call preachers among them, unless they subscribe their own banishment; and this upon a law made against other sects that appeared armed for the maintenance of their heresy; which goes directly against the principles of those which are ready to suffer all that can be inflicted, and still love and pray for their enemies.

'Therefore, dear brother, if you can do any thing to prevent their destruction, I doubt not but you will do an action acceptable to God Almighty, and conducive to the service of your royal master: for the Presbyterians are their violent enemies, to whom they are an eye-sore, as being witnesses against all their violent ways. I care not though his majesty see my letter. It is written out of no less an humble affection for him, than most sensible compassion of the innocent sufferers. You will act herein according to your own discretion, and I beseech you still consider me as

'Yours,

'ELIZABETH.'

Whilst Robert Barclay lay in the Tolbooth at Aberdeen, his father was again† committed to prison, and lodged in the lower gaol. He was committed the 6th of the 1st month (March) 1677, about four months after his son's imprisonment; and on the 17th, they were both removed, with three others, to a place out of the

* This word seems wanting to make sense.

† It is not clear how David Barclay was released from his former imprisonment. Several of his fellow-prisoners were set at liberty on distraints having been made to answer the sums, in which they had been fined. Yet it appears, from Besse, vol. 2. p. 518, that David Barclay was at home when the distress was levied, viz. ten working oxen, two cows, a bull, and a quantity of corn.

town, called the Chapel. In this Chapel the five prisoners were confined in a small room, which allowed them little more space than was necessary to hold their beds. It had a large door which was not opened except when the keeper brought them food; and when it was shut, the prisoners had not sufficient light to serve them at their meals. It was usual when the door was opened, for a servant to come and sweep out the room; and because, to make way for him the prisoners occasionally stepped a few paces out of the door, induced also by the desire of breathing for a few minutes a purer air, the magistrate of Aberdeen reprimanded their keeper for allowing so much indulgence. The same magistrate also chid the person who kept the key of their cell, for proposing to let them have a small place under their room, for the purpose of stowing fuel; and rejected with indignation a proposal to make another window to their darksome place of confinement. Such was then the treatment of a man who had lately been well received at courts; who had then published a work, which will long render his name eminent in the religious world; and, it may not be uninstructive to add, many of whose numerous descendants are now surrounded with most of the accommodations that opulence can bestow, and with much more than the simplicity of the Christian life requires.

On the 3d of the 2d month (April), an order of the commissioners of the Scottish council was made for removing David from the Chapel, for confining him at his country-house, and prohibiting him to hold meetings, or to go to them. He was therefore released, but he informed the bearers of the conditions, that he accepted his liberty, but that, as to the restriction, he should act as he saw proper. Robert was ordered to be removed from the Tolbooth of Aberdeen (where it seems he was still considered as a prisoner, though he was really at the Chapel) to the Tolbooth of Banff; to which place were also ordered several other prisoners. The sheriff gave him his liberty, on condition of his

being forthcoming, when he should appoint a time to convey him to Banff.

The king's recommendation to the council at Edinburgh, had been referred by that body to certain commissioners appointed for putting into execution some acts of the Scottish parliament, against what was termed 'keeping of conventicles, and withdrawers from divine worship;' under which acts the Friends at Aberdeen had been persecuted; and by some of these commissioners the decree had been made, by which David was liberated, and Robert ordered to be removed to Banff. Previously, however, to this decree, the prisoners in general had preferred a petition to the council itself, requesting relief, and stating their sufferings; which seem to have been even more grievous than those which Robert Barclay and his four companions had endured in the Chapel. The council listened to the request; appointed a day in the 3d month (May) for receiving from the commissioners information respecting the condition and circumstances of the prisoners; and ordered that, in the mean time, they should be provided with better accommodations. This order of council caused much dispute between the magistrates of Aberdeen and the under-sheriff: the former insisting that the sheriff should take to Banff such prisoners as had been ordered thither by the decree of the commissioners; and the latter refusing to convey them, and pressing the magistrates to accommodate them better, in consequence of the council's order, which bore a date subsequent to the commissioners' decree. The contention grew violent, and each party entered formal protests at law against the neglect of the other. Robert Barclay also, and the other prisoners who had been ordered to be taken to Banff, being, as has been said, at large, on their parole, and seeing that neither of the contending parties would take charge of them, went before a notary and protested, 'that themselves were freemen, and should pass away about their lawful occasions.' Thus did Robert Barclay regain his

liberty, the 9th of the 2d month (April) 1677, after an imprisonment of about five months.*

It may be acceptable to some readers to peruse the following letter written by Robert Barclay not many days before his release. This letter, with the petition before mentioned, probably contributed to his liberation.

'To James Sharpe, Archbishop of St. Andrews (so called.)†

'My being personally unknown to thee, hath hindered me to give way to that pressure of mind, whereby I have felt myself oftentimes moved to write to thee, because I was loth to trouble thee: but since there is an address intended to be presented to the council, at the first sitting, in behalf of me and my friends, I could no longer forbear upon this occasion, to signify unto thee what hath been upon my mind for some time towards thee. The address itself will inform thee, how we have been upwards of a year imprisoned, and the goods of many poor people miserably spoiled, of which thou art said to be the chief and principal author; and that the attempting to persecute us, as well as the prosecution of it, doth proceed from thy influence, as being done either at thy express desire, or by some others, in hopes thereby to gratify thee. How far thou art truly guilty thereof, thine own conscience can best tell. Surely such practices (if thou hast, either directly or indirectly, had a hand in them) will neither commend thee to God nor good men. I presume thou lookest upon it as thy chief honour, to be reputed a Christian bishop, deriving thy authority from Christ and his apostles: but they never gave warrant for any such doings, being preachers and practisers of patience and suffering, but never of persecuting, or causing to rob any of their goods or liberties, for their conscience sake. And long after, even several centuries, the primitive bishops abhorred and detested such proceed-

* Besse. † Besse. Also Memoirs, p. 37.

ings. Hence the excellent and zealous Athanasius, that 'it is the devil's work, and not God's, to force men's consciences;' affirming, 'that the blasphemous Arians (who were the first bearing the name of Christians, that used that practice) have learned so to do, not of God, but the devil and his angels.' Considerable are the testimonies, Tertullian, Hæsius, Hilarius, Jerom, and others, have given to the same truth; so that Ambrosius declares, that going into France, 'he refused all communication with such bishops, that had any fellowship with those that sought to destroy, even such as were departed from the faith.' I confess the bloody bishops of Rome gave large precedents of such actions; but I suppose thou art not ambitious to be ranked among them, or to be an imitator of them in that respect. How far thou art justifiable, in thy concurring with, or advising the persecution of the Presbyterian dissenters, it is not my business to determine; but I am confident, thou art willing it should be judged, that thy so doing against them, is not merely for their conscience, but because their principles do naturally, or necessarily, imply an innovation in the state, and thy personal ruin: believing not only military resistance just, to protect themselves against authority, but also an offensive endeavour to turn out their superiors, and establish themselves in their overthrow, both lawful and laudable, as their practice hath sufficiently demonstrated. But shouldst thou be found a positive persecutor of such against whom nothing of that kind, neither from principle nor practices can be alleged, but only the simple exercise of their consciences, would not that give plentiful occasion for such as desire to represent thy other actions with the worst aspect, to show, whatever thou pretendest of the state's security, yet thou art a persecutor of pure conscience; since thou showest thyself such against those, against whom the former reasons do not hold? And surely it would seem that the more our peaceable principles take place among other dissenters, thy interest will be more secure: which

is a consideration not unworthy of thy notice, as deserving thy favourable aspect towards us. Perhaps the violence of several of the preachers, as some magistrates here, from whom our sufferings originally do flow, may at first view seem acceptable to thee, as faithful friends as well to the public as to thy interest; and no doubt they judge with themselves, that they ingratiate themselves with thee, in so doing: yet didst thou know them as well as some of us do, thou mightst think it no great absurdity to conclude, as well from their practices as principles, that they would be no less ready to give thee this same treatment, had they but opportunity of doing it, and rejoiced more in it, as a great service both to God and the kirk of Scotland: however that is now out of their reach, they make what use of the law they can, both to execute their malice on us, and flatter thee at this juncture. In short, we have more than reason to believe, that if thou oppose thyself to this our address, it will not be granted; and if thou show thyself moderate and flexible, it will not be denied; as *no mean persons* have hinted unto us: so as the one will be an evidence of thy moderation, the other will be a testimony of thy inclinations to persecute. I wish then, for thy sake as well as ours; that this occurrence rather commend thee than discommend thee: and thou mayst assure thyself, that the utmost rigour that can be used to us shall never be able to make us depart from that living precious truth, that God in his mercy hath revealed unto us, and by us is embraced; nor yet fright us from the public profession of it, yea though we should be pursued to death itself; which, by the grace of God, we hope cheerfully to undergo for the same; and we doubt not, but God would out of our ashes, raise witnesses who should outlive all the violence and cruelty of man. And albeit thou thyself shouldst be most inexorable and violent towards us, thou mayst assure thyself, not to receive any evil from us therefore; who by the grace of God, have learned to suffer patiently; and with our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, to pray

for and love our enemies: yet as thy so doing to an innocent and inoffensive people, would be an irreparable loss to thy reputation; so to the God of truth, whom we serve with our spirits, in the gospel of his Son, and to whom vengeance belongs, we leave it, who will certainly in his own time and way revenge our quarrel; whose dreadful judgments should be more terrible to thee, and much more justly to be feared, than the violent assaults of secret assassinations of thy other antagonists. That thou mayst prevent both the one and the other, by a Christian moderation, suitable to the office thou layst claim to, is the desire of,

'Thy soul's well wisher,

'R. Barclay.'

'From the Chapel prison of Aberdeen, the 26th of the First month, 1677.'

It may be observed that Robert Barclay, in this letter, speaks of the imprisonment as having been a year's duration; which cannot be true, of the term of his own confinement. He must therefore refer to his fellow-prisoners, who had been generally taken up in the first month of the preceding year. With regard to the archbishop, it is probable that he relented, though the author of some short memoirs of David and Robert Barclay, (printed at Aberdeen in 1740,) is not of this opinion, nor does the character of Sharpe much support it.* The short lived protestant episcopacy of Scotland, may prevent some readers from recollecting that, at this time, the ecclesiastical government of the church of that country was vested in bishops, and that the city called St. Andrews was the metropolitan see. It appears by Barclay's letter that Archbishop Sharpe had been rigorous towards the presbyterians, who formed the bulk of the community in Scotland. His conduct however met with a severe return, for he was murdered in a barbarous manner as he was crossing a moor, on his return from a sitting of the council.†

* See Burnet's History of his own time, anno 1678.

† See Burnet's History, anno 1679. Edit. 8vo. 1724, Vol. ii. p. 138.

Robert Barclay had not long recovered his liberty before he again travelled southward, for we find him at London in the 3d month [May], at which time he had, by appointment, and at his own request, a conference with William Rogers, of Bristol,* who had joined some separatists in Westmoreland in opposition to the discipline of the Society. Barclay's *Anarchy of the Ranters* been written, in great measure, for the support of discipline. It was therefore natural that such a book and its author should attract the censure of Rogers. They met, however, in the presence of many friends: and, what is not very common in such debates, the conference was conducted with calmness and moderation; and was followed by the acknowledgement of Rogers, that he had misapprehended a part of Barclay's book. Rogers however still continued his controversy with Friends; and even wrote again in opposition to Robert Barclay's book;† so that probably, not to his yielding temper, but to the moderation and calmness of Barclay's way of treating him, may be attributed his concessions on this occasion.

The year in which Robert Barclay was released from prison, he accompanied William Penn in a part of the religious visit to Holland and Germany, of which there is an account published by Penn. They embarked the 26th of the 5th month (July) 1677,‡ in company with George Fox and some other friends. Robert Barclay was with them at Rotterdam and Amsterdam. At the latter place was held a general meeting of the Friends of the United Provinces, in which many matters were settled and agreed on, relating to the discipline of the Society of Friends, and adapted to their condition in those countries. After a short stay at Amsterdam, they proceeded to Herwerden, the residence of Eliza-

* Gough's History of the people called Quakers, Vol. iii. p. 16.

† Gough's hist. iii. 16, 17. Gough says erroneously, (p. 15) that the *Anarchy of the Ranters* was written on account of the dissensions in Westmoreland. Barclay's Works, fol. p. 238.

‡ Penn's works, 2 vol. fol. life of the author prefixed.

beth the princess palatine. The principal object of their journey thither was to visit this princess, and Anna Maria de Hornes, countess of Hornes, who was her intimate acquaintance, who resided much in her house, and was, as well as herself, a woman seeking after the best things, and a favourer of such (says Penn) as separate themselves from the world, for the sake of righteousness.

They were received by the princess and her friend, the day of their arrival, about seven in the morning. Their visit appears to have been a religious meeting, which lasted till eleven, and in which all the friends were engaged in testimony.* The princess invited them to dine with her, which they declined; but as they desired another meeting, she appointed two o'clock in the afternoon. Such were the early hours then observed. At this meeting several were present besides the princess and countess. It continued till near seven in the evening. William Penn thus speaks of it: 'The eternal Word showed itself a hammer this day: yea sharper than a two-edged sword, dividing asunder between the soul and spirit, between the joints and the marrow.—Well, let my right hand forget its cunning and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, when I shall forget the loving kindness of the Lord, and the sure mercies of our God, to us his travelling servants that day.'

The following day they paid two visits at this little court; and the day after, which was the first day of the week, they held there a meeting appointed at two o'clock by the direction of the princess; at which were present others besides those of her household. Among other things, Penn says of this meeting, 'The quickening power and life of Jesus wrought, and reached them;

* By this phrase is to be understood that each of the visitors thought himself required to preach in the meeting. Such declarations are called testimonies, because they bear witness, or testify to that which the speaker feels in himself. See on this subject Barclay's Apology, Proposition 10. § 7. § 14. § 15. § 33.

and virtue from Him in whom dwelleth the Godhead bodily, went forth.' After this meeting, which held till late in the evening, the visitors took their leave; but not before they had been witnesses of the tender disposition of mind of the princess; who, attempting to set forth her sense of the power and presence of God prevalent among them, could not proceed, but turned herself to the window and said; 'My heart is full, I cannot speak to you.' The next day Robert Barclay left the company, and returned to Amsterdam. It appears that his return home was by way of London. On the road he wrote a letter to the princess; which, as it gives some account of his immediate circle of friends at Aberdeen, and contains other matters worthy of remark, is here inserted.

* 'Theobalds, near London, 12th of the 7th mo. 1677.

'Dear Friend,

'By thy letter of the last of the month past, I understood that the friends were with thee, and was refreshed by the account they gave me of thy kind and Christian entertainment of them (they having overtaken me in Holland). God will not be wanting to reward thy love, as well as to increase the same. Finding no ready passage straight to Scotland, I came over here; and albeit I had no great expectation of success, I resolved once more to try thy cousin the duke of York.† So I told him, that I understood from Scotland, notwithstanding Lauderdale was there, and had promised, ere he went, to do something, yet our friends' foes were rather increased; and that now there was only one thing to be done, which I desired of him; and that was to write effectually to the duke of Lauderdale, in that style wherein Lauderdale might understand that he was serious in the business, and did really intend the thing he did write concerning, should take effect: which I knew he might do, and I supposed the other might

* Memoirs, p. 44. † Afterwards James 2d.

answer; which if he would do, I must acknowledge as a great kindness. But if he did write, and not in that manner, so that the other might not suppose him to be serious, I would rather he would excuse himself the trouble; desiring withal to excuse my plain manner of dealing, as being different from court way of soliciting: all which he seemed to take in good part, and said he would so write, as I desired, for my father and me, but not for the general.* So he hath given me a letter: whether it may prove effectual or not, I cannot determine, but of this thou mayst hear hereafter. I am now entered upon my journey, and intend to pass by the way of Ragley. What thou writest of the chancellor of the elector, and the other preachers, is very acceptable to me to hear; whose joy it is, to understand that the eyes of any are opened to see the truth as it is in this day revealed; as it should be much more, to hear that any came into that universal obedience which the life and power thereof lead to: which life and power, as they are felt in the inward part, are more than all the words that can be spoken; of which I know thou hast, at some times, not been insensible; and therefore my soul's desire for thee is, that thou mayst more and more come out of all that cumbers, to feel this virtue of truth to operate in, and redeem thy soul from all the difficulties that do or may attend thee. This, in the nature of it, it is powerful to do, albeit thy temptations were both great and more numerous than they are; if received by thee in the love of it, and with a heart fully resigned to obey it, in all its requirings; without consulting with flesh and blood, or turning by the plain and simple leadings thereof by wise and fleshly reasonings, which will never admit of the government and rule of the cross of Christ: as thou well knowest and

* Meaning the persecuted Friends of Aberdeen in general. James 2d has been accused of pretending to be the champion of liberty of conscience for the sake of opening a way for the establishment of the Catholic party. This limitation of his good offices to the Barclays only, and his refusal to interest himself for the relief of the sufferers in general, does, indeed, favour the opinion, that he was a time server, and not a real friend to liberty of conscience.

wilt not refuse to acknowledge, and therefore art the more concerned to watch against it in thine own particular, as I hope in measure thou dost, and my heart's desire is.

'Thou mayst make mention of my dear and tender love to Anna, whose servant, as also the French woman, I forget not. To Anna I thought to have written apart, but must now leave it until another opportunity. If thou seest meet to salute that counsellor of the elector in my name, thou mayst do it. I shall add no more at present, but that I am,

'Thy real and unfeigned friend,

'Robert Barclay.'

In forming this compilation, no occurrence has been found recorded of Robert Barclay, from the date of the foregoing letter till the 9th month (Nov.) 1679, when he was again taken,* with several other Friends, from the meeting at Aberdeen, and committed to prison. This confinement was not only of short duration, as they were released in about three hours, but it proved the last on this account; for from that period the religious meetings of Friends at Aberdeen, were held without any molestation from the magistrate. The well known interest which Robert Barclay possessed at court, might in part restrain them from further persecution; and the constancy of the sufferers could scarcely fail of producing an effect favourable to the end for which they suffered; the liberty of assembling to worship God, in the way they believed to be most acceptable to him.

In this year, 1679,† Robert Barclay obtained a charter from Charles 2d, under the great seal, erecting his lands of Ury into a Free Barony, with civil and criminal jurisdiction, to him and his heirs.‡ This charter

* Besse. † Memoirs, p. 48.

‡ It seems remarkable that R. Barclay should wish to encumber himself with the administration of either criminal or civil justice, at a time when many of its laws and forms were inconsistent with the profession he was making. His motives probably were, the expectation of possessing some personal privilege, and the hope of preventing, in some instances, the reference of causes to the decision of less upright judges.

was afterwards ratified by an act of parliament; the preamble of which states it to be 'for the many services done by Colonel David Barclay, and his son, the said Robert Barclay, to the king and his most royal progenitors in times past.' The barony, however, with all similar jurisdictions, was extinguished, on the alteration made in the system of the government of Scotland.*

In the year 1679,† he again visited Holland: but of this visit no particulars have been made public. Some business carried him the next year to Edinburgh; and on this occasion, he received a friendly letter from the Duke of York, and two others from the Earl of Perth. These letters mark the writers' respect and regard for Robert Barclay: but as they do not explain his employment, at the time they were written, it is not necessary to present them to the reader. An extract from one of them from the Earl of Perth, may, however, be worth attention. It is as follows:—'I am glad to hear from you; and should be much more so to do you any service. I hope you believe better things of me, than that I would be much disappointed with the instability of human condition. I do not look upon any thing here as so fixed as to be worthy of too much concern, or capable to bear weight. I will resolve to be what God pleases, a plowman or a courtier, or what else may be most for his honour.'

In 1682,‡ Robert Barclay was again in London. He was then appointed governor of East Jersey in North America, by the proprietors of that province, of whom his friend the Earl of Perth, was one. He was also himself made a proprietor; and had allotted to him five thousand acres of land above his proprietary share,§ that he might grant them to others at his pleasure.

* By Act 20, Geo. 2. cap. 43.

† Memoirs, p. 48. ‡ Memoirs, 51.

§ The words of the 'Memoirs' are, 'To induce him to accept thereof, they gifted him a propriety, with five thousand acres *more*, for him to bestow as he should think fit.' p. 51.

These were inducements held out for his accepting the government. Charles 2d confirmed the grant of the government; and the royal commission states that 'such are his known fidelity and capacity, that he has the government during life; but that no other governor after him shall have it longer than for three years.' He had also authority to appoint a deputy governor, with a salary of four hundred pounds per annum, a sum equal to a thousand pounds, or more, according to the value of money at the present time. It does not appear that any salary was annexed to the station which he himself filled, so that patronage rather than riches, appears to have been the immediate effect of the grant. In consequence of his newly acquired power, he appointed Gawen Laurie, a merchant of London, deputy-governor;* but he never visited the province himself. His brother John,† the colonel's second son, settled in East Jersey; and the third son, Robert's youngest brother, a youth of great hopes, died on the voyage, in which he had embarked with a similar intention. This was the son whom David Barclay on his death-bed, spoke of with particular affection.

The reader will recollect that David Barclay had been induced by John Swinton, a fellow prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh, to examine the religious principles of Friends. This John Swinton had been attainted by the Parliament of Scotland, prior to the overthrow of the regal government; and, on its re-establishment, committed to prison in consequence of that attainder.‖ In the mean time he had adopted the profession of Friends; and when at length he was brought to trial, and called on to show cause why he should not receive sentence, according to his attainder, he waived some strong and valid pleas in point of law, which he might have made; and replied, that at the

* The same G. Laurie, to whom, jointly with William Penn and Nicolas Lucas, West Jersey had been assigned for the benefit of the creditors of Bylinge, the proprietor. Morse's American Geography.

† Memoirs, 53.

‖ Biog. Brit. Barclay.

time his crimes were imputed to him, 'he was in the gall of bitterness, and bond of iniquity; but that God having since called him to the light, he saw and acknowledged his past errors; and did not refuse to pay the forfeit of them, even though (in the opinion of his judges) this should extend to his life.' He was, however, recommended to the king's mercy, and his life was preserved; but it is probable that his estates, which were forfeited at the Restoration, were not restored to him; since we find Robert Barclay, soon after his return from London in 1682,* assisting Swinton with his interest and purse at Edinburgh; thus answering practically and freely the apostolic expostulation, (1 Cor. ix. 11,) by permitting Swinton to reap carnal things, who had sown spiritual things to his family.

The remainder of the life of Robert Barclay is not marked with many instances of public action. Much of it appears to have been passed in tranquillity, and in the bosom of his family; yet he occasionally made some journeys, to promote his private concerns, to serve his relations and neighbours, or to maintain the cause of his brethren in religious profession. On his return from a journey to the neighbourhood of London, where he had been settling his son at the boarding school then kept by George Keith, at Theobalds, in Hertfordshire, his life appears to have been in some danger from the attack of a highwayman.† His wife had observed him, in the morning, to be more pensive than usual, and he told her that he believed some uncommon trial would that day befal the company; which consisted of himself, his wife, her brother, and Aarent Sonmans, a Dutchman, formerly a merchant in Holland, but then resident in Scotland. When the robber presented his pistol, Robert Barclay calmly asked him 'how he came to be so rude,' and took him by the arm; on which the robber let the pistol drop, and

* Memoirs, 51. † Memoirs, 52.

offered him no further violence; but his brother-in-law was rifled, and Sonmans received a mortal wound in the thigh, though, it was thought, rather accidentally than by design. He died at Stilton, a few days afterwards.

Robert Barclay, about this time,* appears to have been attentive to the welfare of East Jersey, by shipping provisions, and engaging indented servants, at Aberdeen. In the year 1685, he was again in London, where he employed himself in many acts of friendship, both to his brethren in religious profession and to others. He had frequent access to the king, (James 2d,)† who showed him marks of great friendship, as he had done before his accession. Whatever might have been the principles of James, Barclay, probably influenced by the personal kindness he received from him, seems to have thought him sincere in his professions, and to have conceived a real regard for the misguided and imprudent monarch.

In 1686‡ he was much solicited by George Fox, and some other Friends, who knew his interest at court, to come again to London, and employ himself on behalf of the Society. Though the juncture in which their application was made was not a time of persecution, (for that had ceased on the accession of James 2d,) yet the legal incapacity of our Friends, in consequence of their refusing to swear, and the ruinous processes which were generally instituted against them for tithes, even of small amount, together with the little security which they felt, whilst the penal laws were only suspended by a power which they knew to be incompetent; all these considerations naturally induced them to desire that their case might rest on a surer basis. That they really looked to parliament for a radical redress of their wrongs, appears by the following clause of the address from the yearly meeting, in 1687.§ 'We hope the good effects thereof [the king's declaration of

* Memoirs, p. 52. † Memoirs, p. 57. ‡Memoirs, p. 54.
§ Gough, Vol. iii. page 194.

indulgence) may produce such a concurrence from the parliament, as will secure it to our posterity.' * As Barclay, in compliance with the request of Fox and his friends, left home in the second month (April) that year, there is little doubt that he was present at the yearly meeting, which was sitting the 19th of the third month, as appears by the date of the address.

The applications of the Friends in London to Robert Barclay, had been made many months before he concluded to come to that city, and soon after the accession of the king. It may not be improper to insert, on this occasion, part of the letter from George Fox, with a postscript written by two other Friends, as testimonials of their love, and of the sense which his friends had of his usefulness and alacrity in serving the cause he had espoused.

† 'Edmonton, 19th of the 5th month, 1686.

'The occasion of my writing to thee at this time is, that Friends were very sensible of the great service thou hadst concerning the truth, with the king and all the court; and that thou hadst their ear more than any Friend, when here, and freedom and liberty on Friends' and truth's behalf. And now, dear Robert, we, understanding that the occasion of thy sudden return, concerning the condition thy wife was in, being now over, by her being delivered, I desire thee, and it is the desire of several other Friends, that, whilst the door is open and the way so plain, thou wouldst be pleased to come to London with speed, or as soon as may be. There is a great service in thy coming, upon several accounts, more than I shall mention at this time; and so I hope the Lord will incline thy heart to weigh and consider thy service in it.'

* This address is particularly mentioned, because a spurious one to James II. has been attributed to the Quakers.

† Memoirs, page 54.

'London, 22d of the 5th month, 1686.

'Dear Robert,

'The within desire of George Fox is also the desire of us, and we think of all the Friends here: we therefore hope thou wilt do the needful therein.

'We are thy real friends,

'John Osgood,

'Francis Camfield.'

Let no reader be so fastidious as to contemn the simple style of George Fox. Though unlettered, he possessed a sound judgment and a quick apprehension. But had he been, and were many more of the advocates for the inward light of Christ, and for a self-denying life, deficient in acuteness of understanding, this would not detract from their virtue, nor from the purity and excellence of religion. If the offices of religion are often filled by persons not distinguished by superior mental acquisitions,* one cause of it may be, the too frequent refusal of talents and learning to bend in subjection to the humbling power of the Cross. It seems difficult to quit this subject, without expressing an ardent wish, that, amidst the career of prosperity, and the captivating charms of indulgence, some reader may be found, who may be willing here to pause; to consider with Barclay, 'that the height of all happiness is placed in the true knowledge of God,†' and to inquire seriously of the divine witness in the heart, 'Am I really concerned to obtain, and to preserve this knowledge; or, is it the whole, or the chief business of my life, to pursue things of a temporal nature?'

During this time of Robert Barclay's abode in the metropolis, he presented to the king an address of acknowledgement from the general meeting of Friends at Aberdeen. He also visited the seven bishops, then confined in the Tower, for having refused to distribute,

* See a remarkable case, in Apol. prop. 10, § 19, towards the end. See, also, § 23, for Barclay's own experience.

† Apol. prop. I.

in their respective dioceses, the king's declaration for liberty of conscience, and for having represented to the king, the grounds of their objection to the measure. The popular opinion was in favour of the bishops;* yet the former severities of some of that order against dissenters, particularly against Friends, occasioned some reflections on them; which, coming to the knowledge of the imprisoned bishops, they declared *that the Quakers had belied them, by reporting that they had been the death of some.* Robert Barclay, being informed of this declaration, went to the Tower, and gave the bishops a well substantiated account of some persons having been detained in prison till death, by order of bishops, though they had been apprized of the danger by physicians who were not Quakers.† He, however, observed to the bishops, that it was by no means the intention of Friends to publish such events, and thereby give the king, and their other adversaries, any advantage against them.

Robert Barclay was in London, for the last time, in the memorable year 1688.‡ He visited James II.; and being with him, near a window, the king looked out and observed, that 'the wind was then fair for the prince of Orange to come over.' Robert Barclay replied, 'it was hard that no expedient could be found to satisfy the people.' The king declared, 'he would do any thing becoming a gentleman, except parting with liberty of conscience, which he never would, whilst he lived.' At this time Barclay took a final leave of the king, for whose troubles he was much concerned; and with whom he had been several times engaged in serious discourse, on the posture of affairs at that time.

After he returned from London, he spent the remainder of his life, being about two years, chiefly at home;

* Gough, vol. iii. page 198.

† This was a period of intolerance, which has given place to a more enlightened and Christian temper. It is but justice to say, that the clergy, in general, possess a liberality of sentiment, very different from the spirit of that day.

‡ Memoirs.

where he enjoyed the esteem and regard of his neighbours, and the comforts of domestic society. In the year 1690, he accompanied James Dickinson, a minister from Cumberland, in a religious visit to some parts of the north of Scotland; and soon after his return from this visit, he was seized with a violent fever, which, in a short time, put a period to his life. James Dickinson was with him at the time of his illness. It was a solemn season; and their spirits were deeply affected with a sense of the divine goodness. Robert Barclay, though much oppressed by the disorder, was in a truly resigned, peaceful, and Christian frame of mind. He expressed his love to all faithful Friends in England, and to all the faithful every where; particularly to Friends in Cumberland where James Dickinson resided, and to George Fox, for whom he had a special regard; and concluded with these comfortable expressions: 'God is good still: and though I am under a great weight of sickness and weakness, yet my peace flows. This I know, that whatever exercises may be permitted to come upon me, they shall tend to God's glory, and my salvation: and in that I rest.'* He died the 3d of the 8th month, (October,) in the year 1690, and in the 42d year of his age. His body was attended to the grave at Ury, by many of the most respectable persons in the neighbourhood.

Before the conclusion of this part of the account respecting Robert Barclay, it will probably be agreeable to the reader, to survey the qualities and virtues of this respectable man, drawn together and placed in a single point of view. From the testimonies of George Fox, William Penn, Patrick Livingstone, and Andrew Jaffray, men who knew him well, and from his life and writings, the following character of Robert Barclay is faithfully delineated.

He was distinguished by strong mental powers, particularly by great penetration, and a sound and accurate judgment. His talents were much improved by a re-

* Piety Promoted. Gough, vol. iii. p. 247.

gular and classical education. It does not, however, appear that his superior qualifications produced that elation of mind, which is too often their attendant: he was meek, humble, and ready to allow others the merit they possessed. All his passions were under the most excellent government. Two of his intimate friends, in their character of him, declare, that they never knew him to be angry. He had the happiness of early perceiving the infinite superiority of religion to every other attainment; and divine grace enabled him to dedicate his life, and all that he possessed, to promote the cause of piety and virtue. For the welfare of his friends, he was sincerely and warmly concerned: and he travelled, and wrote much, as well as suffered cheerfully, in support of the society and the principles to which he had conscientiously attached himself. But this was not a blind and bigoted attachment. His zeal was tempered with charity; and he loved and respected goodness wherever he found it. His uncorrupted integrity and liberality of sentiment, his great abilities and the suavity of his disposition, gave him much interest with persons of rank and influence; and he employed it in a manner that marked the benevolence of his heart. He loved peace: and was often instrumental in settling disputes, and in producing reconciliation between contending parties.

In the support and pursuit of what he believed to be right, he possessed great firmness of mind; which was early evinced in the pious and dutiful sentiment he expressed to his uncle, who tempted him with great offers to remain in France, against the desire of his father: 'He is my father, (said he,) and he must be obeyed.' All the virtues harmonize, and are connected with one another: this firm and resolute spirit in the prosecution of duty, was united with great sympathy and compassion towards persons in affliction and distress. They were consoled by his tenderness, assisted by his advice, and occasionally relieved by his bounty. His spiritual discernment and religious experience, directed by that

divine influence which he valued above all things, eminently qualified him to instruct the ignorant, to reprove the irreligious, to strengthen the feeble minded, and to animate the advanced Christian to still greater degrees of virtue and holiness.

In private life, he was equally amiable. His conversation was cheerful, guarded, and instructive. He was a dutiful son, an affectionate and faithful husband, a tender and careful father, a kind and considerate master. Without exaggeration, it may be said, that piety and virtue were recommended by his example; and that, though the period of his life was short, he had, by the aid of divine grace, most wisely and happily improved it. He lived long enough to manifest, in an eminent degree, the temper and conduct of a Christian, and the virtues and qualifications of a true minister of the gospel.

PART II.

His writings—the time and motives of their publication—and a brief description of their contents.

Robert Barclay's first appearance as an author, was about the twenty-second year of his age. The work bears the following title: 'Truth cleared of Calumnies: wherein a book, entitled "A dialogue between a Quaker and a stable Christian," (printed at Aberdeen, and, upon good ground, judged to be writ by William Mitchell, a preacher near it,) is examined, and the disingenuity of the author, in his representing the Quakers, is discovered, their case truly stated, cleared, demonstrated, and the objections of their opposers answered, according to truth, scripture, and right reason.' The title page bespeaks the intention of the work; and it may be only necessary to add, that the dialogue, to which it is an answer, seems to have been the result of a controversy that had long been maintained between the Friends in Aberdeen, and some of the clergy; the latter having endeavoured to represent them as holding doctrines injurious to religion. The reader may find in Barclay's 'Truth cleared of Calumnies,' some of those leading points of the doctrine of Friends, handled in a concise manner, which are diffusely treated, in some of his subsequent works. To this book was added, in the same year, a postscript, entitled 'Some things of weighty concernment, proposed in meekness and love, by way of queries, to the serious consideration of the inhabitants of Aberdeen; which may also be of use to such as are of the same mind with them elsewhere in this nation.' The questions are twenty in number. Some of them pointedly relate to the controversy on foot; others are of a more general nature; and all are

worth the perusal of such as engage in religious disputes.

William Mitchell, the supposed author of the anonymous 'Dialogue,' having thought fit to reply to our author's 'Truth cleared from Calumnies,' gave him occasion to publish, in 1672,* his piece called 'William Mitchell unmasked: or the staggering instability of the pretended stable Christian discovered, his omissions observed, and weakness unveiled, in his late faint and feeble animadversions, by way of reply to a book entitled "Truth cleared of Calumnies," wherein the integrity of the Quakers' doctrine is the second time justified from the reiterated, clamorous, but causeless calumnies of this caviling catechist.' From such a title, a closer conflict might be expected; and this we find was the case. William Penn, in his preface to Barclay's works, speaking of this book, observes that 'the dispute rises high, and the contest seems sharp and close; but to every impartial reader, the advantage evidently runs on our author's side, who appears rather zealous than heated, and sharper on his enemy's matter than person; for he rather pities his enemy, than triumphs over his weakness and envy. Here, as in an exact draught, the reader has an account of the fabulous principles given under our names, and those that we really profess; and the pleasure even men pretending to religion take to render a poor self-denying people that which they are not; as if they feared we should be in the right, or hold principles nearer to what they themselves profess to believe, than is convenient for their interest with the people to allow; lest that, together with the sobriety their [*our*] worst enemies allow to be so conspicuous among them [*us*], should give them [*us*] too great a credit with their hearers.' The editor of the Biographia Britannica, characterizing this performance of Barclay, says, 'In this work, our author discovers an amazing variety of

* At the age of 24.

learning; which shows how good a use he made of his time at Paris, and how thorough a master he was of the Scriptures, the fathers, and ecclesiastical history: and with how much skill and judgment he applied them.'

In these two books, namely, 'Truth cleared of Calumnies,' and 'William Mitchell unmasked,' will be found the buddings of much of that sound argument, which afterwards grew to so vigorous a degree of strength in Barclay's famous Apology.

Our author's next publication was a half sheet, entitled 'A seasonable warning and serious exhortation to, and expostulation with, the inhabitants of Aberdeen, concerning this present dispensation, and day of God's living visitation towards them.' From this paper an extract has already been given, relative to the author's message in sackcloth. Some queries respecting that matter having been dispersed in Aberdeen, an answer to them was also published, which appears as a postscript to the 'Seasonable Warning,' in the collection of Barclay's works. From this postscript, it is evident that Robert Barclay had the unity and concurrence of his friends on the occasion of his mortifying errand, and that he was accompanied by some of them.

Now, quitting for a while the field of controversy, our author compiled and published his Catechism and Confession of Faith; a work which has gone through several editions in English, and one in Latin. The first edition is that of 1673. The Society of Friends had been represented as vilifying and denying the Scriptures; 'to disprove which,' says Barclay, addressing himself to the reader, 'this Catechism and Confession of Faith are compiled and brought to thy view.'—'In answer to the questions, there is not one word, that I know of, placed, but the express words of scripture.' Accordingly, the work is called 'A Catechism and Confession of Faith, approved of and agreed unto by the general assembly of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles,

Christ himself chief speaker in and among them: which containeth a true and faithful account of the principles and doctrines which are most surely believed by the churches of Christ in Great Britain and Ireland, who are reproachfully called by the name of Quakers, yet are found in the one faith with the primitive church and saints; as is most clearly demonstrated bysome plain scripture testimonies, (without consequences or commenttaries) which are here collected and inserted by way of answer to a few weighty, yet easy and familiar questions, fitted as well for the wisest and largest, as for the weakest and lowest capacities. To which are added an expostulation with, and an appeal to, all other professors.' As the days in which we live are marked by bold attempts to vilify the Scriptures; and as even under our profession there have been persons, who have endeavoured to bring them into discredit, thinking to succeed the more easily with a people, who believe in the superior excellence of the Spirit; it is peculiarly interesting to behold in what light Robert Barclay, the able asserter of that superior excellence, viewed the Scriptures. It is further interesting, because some persons have imagined that Robert Barclay himself countenanced opinions not favourable to the divine authority of the Scriptures. His works, nevertheless, teem with reference to scripture authority. He never shrinks from the test of scripture, on disputed points; and in the present work he declares that it is his design to let the simple words of scripture, uncommented on, be the advocates of the cause which he espouses.

After the publication of the Catechism, it appears that the next production of our author's pen was his 'Theses Theologicæ,' of which further mention will be made. In the year 1675 he published at Rotterdam, a piece in Latin, against Nicolas Arnold, professor in the University of Franequer, in Friesland, one of the United Provinces, who had controverted his Theses. This piece is entitled, 'Christianæ quædam animad-

versiones in Nicholaï Arnoldi (qui S. S. theologiæ Doctor et Proffes. se præcedat) exercitationem theologicam de Quakerismo, ejusque brevis refutatio.'*

It is addressed as follows, 'Omnibus totius Belgii, et presertim Academiæ Franequæranæ, doctoribus, professoribus, et studiosis, Robertus Barclaius Divini Spiritûs illuminationem uberiorem ad intelligentiam veritatis, animonque ad eamplectandam proclivem exoptat.'†

The same year he gave to the public, 'A true and faithful account of the most material passages of a dispute betwixt some students of divinity (so called) of the university of Aberdeen, and the people called Quakers.' The issue of this dispute has been already mentioned. The disputing students had also published an account of it, in a piece entitled 'Quakerism canvassed;' which occasioned a reply from Barclay and his friends, under the title of 'Quakerism confirmed' in two parts, both dated 1676. To the latter are subjoined three certificates, from four persons present at the dispute, who, it also appears, were the same that were convinced by means of the impressions then made on their minds. The character, therefore, of these latter publications of Barclay may be learned from the students' certificates: which are as follow.

'We the underscribers, late students of philosophy in the university of Aberdeen, being present at the dispute, do faithfully declare, that the students have grossly belied the Quakers in their account, making them to speak that which they spake not; and also forging arguments and answers not mentioned upon the place. And though we had no intention at that time to own the people called Quakers, yet we dare not but declare that their answer and behaviour had

* Some Christian remarks on the Theological Exercitation on Quakerism of Nicolas Arnold, (who styles himself doctor and professor of divinity) and a short refutation of it.

† To all the doctors, professors, and students, in the Netherlands, more especially to those of the university of Franequer, Robert Barclay wisheth a fuller illumination of the Divine Spirit, for the understanding of the truth, and a mind disposed to embrace it.

no small influence upon us, to make us in love with their way, and to search after it more diligently: as also the students' arguments and lightness did not a little tend to make us disgust them and their principles. And albeit that inward peace and satisfaction of mind, which we enjoy in the truth we now profess with that despised and injured people, doth make us bless the day in which it pleased God to bring us among them; yet we are not a little confirmed in the belief of this reproached testimony and witnesses, that we find the strongest arguments their adversaries have against them are lies and calumnies. And this we testify for the truth, whom the truth hath taught not to lie.

'Robert Sandilands,
'James Alexander.'

'And I also declare, who (being a student at that time in the Old Town College) was present at the dispute and heard the same with attention, that the students have grossly belied the Quakers in many things in their account. And although that since it hath pleased God to join me unto that people, yet at that time I had no mind to be of their way. However, when I saw their account I did approve it as ingenuous, as now I also do, and disapprove the students as false in many things. Alexander Seaton.'

'And I likewise (being a student in the New Town College) at that time was present at the dispute, and do declare that the students' folly and lightness had no small influence upon me to search more narrowly into the way of that people; which it pleased the Lord to bless unto me, so that the eyes of my understanding came to be opened, and I came fully to be convinced of the truth of their principles and way; to which now by the mercy of the Lord I am joined; and do find by comparing the two accounts together, that the students have wronged the people called Quakers in divers things, as the students' self contradictions do sufficiently show. Alexander Paterson.'

This appears to have been a busy time with Robert Barclay; for in the same year were published his 'Anarchy of the Ranters,' and his 'Apology.' The latter was as yet only submitted to the learned world, being printed in Latin at Amsterdam. Let us therefore suspend our review of it, and advert to the other book, the title of which at large is 'The Anarchy of the Ranters, and other libertines, the Hierarchy of the Romanists, and other pretended churches, equally refused and refuted: in a two-fold apology for the church and people of God called in derision Quakers. Wherein they are vindicated from those that accuse them of confusion and disorder on the one hand, and from such as calumniate them with tyranny and imposition on the other; showing that as the true and pure principles of the gospel are restored by their testimony; so is also the ancient apostolic order of the church of Christ re-established among them, and settled upon its right basis and foundation.' The scope of this work may be discovered by its title; but it is useful to know that Friends, at that time, were calumniated by their adversaries as a people who, under colour of private internal direction, were laying waste good order; whilst by some dissatisfied persons among themselves, they were accused of violating the rights of private judgment, and restraining the operations of the Spirit in individuals, by the discipline which had been set up among them. The author therefore endeavours to reconcile the province of the body with the privileges of individuals; and he does it in a masterly manner. The work has passed through several impressions; and as its title, when abridged to the few words, 'The Anarchy of the Ranters,' conveys little or no information of its contents, the yearly meeting lately ordered an additional title to be prefixed, namely, 'A Treatise on Christian Discipline.' It is a work worthy of general perusal; and particularly claims the attention of all persons, who think it is their duty to be active, in supporting and executing the discipline of the church. In the collection of

Barclay's works there is an explanatory postscript, (written in prison in 1679,) occasioned by the opposition of Rogers, already mentioned, which exhibits our author in an amiable view.*

The Theses Theologicæ have been already mentioned. They have been printed in Latin, French, German, Dutch, and English. One of the English editions bears the title of 'The principles of true Christianity and sound divinity asserted.' They are addressed as follows: 'To the clergy of what sort soever, unto whose hands these may come; but more particularly to the doctors, professors, and students of divinity, in the universities and schools of Great Britain, whether prelatical, presbyterian, or any other,—Robert Barclay, a servant of the Lord God, and one of those who in derision are called Quakers, wisheth unfeigned repentance to the acknowledgement of the truth.' These theses or propositions are fifteen in number. The following are the subjects of them:

1. Concerning the true foundation of knowledge.
2. Immediate Revelation.
3. the Scriptures.
4. Condition of Man in the fall.
5. & 6. the Universal Redemption by Christ, and also the saving and spiritual light, wherewith every man is enlightened.
7. Justification.
8. Perfection.
9. Perseverance, and the possibility of falling from Grace.
10. the Ministry.
11. Worship.
12. Baptism.
13. the Communion or participation of the body and blood of Christ.

* It appears from a paper subjoined that the Anarchy of the Ranters had been approved by the morning meeting at London; which meeting had then been established about three years.

14. Concerning the power of the civil magistrate in matters purely religious and appertaining to the conscience.
15. Salutations and Recreations, &c.

On these subjects the author proposes his sentiments, and explains them in conformity with the principles of Friends.

The propositions, being sent forward into the world, were well received beyond the author's expectation; and proved the means of removing some false and monstrous opinions which had been imbibed against the Society. Actuated therefore by the like design of propagating the truth, and believing himself equally influenced by the Divine Spirit, he judged it proper to explain his propositions somewhat more largely, and to defend them with arguments; and this produced his celebrated Apology.

It is entitled 'An Apology for the true Christian divinity, as the same is held forth, and preached, by the people called in scorn Quakers; being a full explanation and vindication of their principles and doctrines, by many arguments deduced from Scripture and right reason, and the testimonies of famous authors, both ancient and modern: with a full answer to the strongest objections usually made against them. Presented to the king.' In this work the fifteen propositions (except the 5th and 6th, which are examined together) are separately examined and proved. The author's general method is to state clearly the position which he is about to prove; afterwards to adduce one or more scripture texts, which either plainly affirm the truth of what he has laid down, or from which it may be naturally, fairly, and clearly deduced by an argument; which he generally puts in the form of a syllogism.* He afterwards adds the testimonies of other authors of approved reputation in support of the doctrine which he is proving; and lastly states the objections to it that have been

* For example. Sin is imputed to none where there is no law.
But, To infants there is no law.
Therefore, Sin is not imputed to them. Prop. 4. § 4.

made, or that might be made; which he likewise answers by syllogistical arguments drawn from Scripture, or from self-evident truths, acknowledged by all.

The Theses contain the author's general opinions under each head, or division of the Apology; but in order to show, in this place, what those opinions are, it may not be amiss to exhibit an outline of what the reader may expect to find treated in a finished and masterly manner in this instructive, celebrated, and it may even be said, entertaining work. In truth, the road of religion is not without flowers; and it should be remembered, that the thorns which are found in it, have sprung from our own corruptions, or from the vices of others. When the course of religion is unobstructed, or when the obstructions are overcome, her ways are still ways of pleasantness, and all her paths peace. It is occupation which forms much of the pleasure of the mind; when men resolve not to occupy themselves with trifles, and with such pursuits as neither make them wiser nor better, they may find genuine entertainment in the performance of their duty; and in the perusal of books written on subjects which pertain to life and salvation. Here the mind is not only occupied and entertained, but also invigorated.

On the subject of the First Proposition, our author asserts that the *true foundation of knowledge* consists in being acquainted with God; an assertion which, as he supposes it will generally be granted, he does not stop long to explain. *Immediate revelation* is held up in the Second Proposition: and Barclay not only shows the necessity of it, for obtaining that true knowledge which is mentioned in the first, but proves that the doctrine was held by the early teachers of Christianity; and that the revelation for which he pleads, is only to be obtained in and by Christ, through the Spirit. This part of the Apology also contains (§ 5.) Robert Barclay's faith as to the eternal divinity of Christ.

The Apologist begins the Third Proposition, treating of the *Scriptures*, with declaring them to be the

most excellent writings in the world; to which not only no other writings are to be preferred, but even in divers respects are not comparable. Nevertheless, he asserts that it is the Spirit that must apply them for our benefit, and must still be the primary rule of Christians. He then guards against the common objection, that hereby the Scriptures are rendered useless; and shows that, as they have proceeded from the revelation of the Divine Spirit in the writers, they can never be contradicted by the revelation of the same Spirit in the mind of any. He is willing that all doctrines and practices should be tried by them; and that whatever any persons, pretending to the Spirit, do contrary to the Scriptures, should be taken for delusion.

In the Fourth Proposition are unfolded the views of Robert Barclay respecting the *state of man in the fall.* He denies the imputation of sin to infants, on account of Adam's transgression, until they join with the seed of evil in themselves by their own actual transgression; yet he maintains that all men are prone to sin, and cannot derive, from their fallen progenitor, any power to overcome it. A seed of sin he confesses to be transmitted to all men from Adam; but he prefers to call it by the scriptural terms of *Death*, the *Old Man*, the *Old Adam*, rather than by the Calvinistic term of *Original Sin;* which notion, he thinks, has given rise to that of imputing sin to infants.

In the two following Propositions, the Fifth and Sixth, which are considered jointly, our author shows the means of man's restoration from the fall; and ably asserts 'universal redemption by Christ, and the saving and spiritual light wherewith every man is enlightened.' He begins with some short, yet sharp, strictures on the doctrine of *Absolute reprobation*, which he successfully opposes; and proves the universality of Christ's death, and the consequent possibility of salvation to all. The author lays it down that God, who, of his infinite love, sent his Son into the world, who tasted death for *every* man, hath given to every man a time of

visitation, during which he may partake of the fruits of Christ's death. Secondly, That to this end God hath given to every man a measure of the light of his own Son—a measure of grace—a measure of the Spirit. Thirdly, That God, in and by this light, invites, calls, exhorts, and strives, with every man, in order to save him: which light received, and not resisted, works the salvation of all; but that it may be resisted, and then it becomes man's condemnation. Having thus shown that man co-operates in the work of his salvation, he guards against derogating from the atonement and sacrifice of Christ; asserts belief in all that is recorded of him in Scripture; and that remission of sins is only by virtue of that most satisfactory sacrifice. The subjects of these propositions are treated diffusely; and it is therefore difficult to do them justice in a sketch of this nature.

Justification forms the matter of the Seventh Proposition, in which word Robert Barclay always includes the idea of *being made just;* the immediate cause of which is the *revelation of Jesus Christ in the soul*, changing and renewing the mind: and he cautions all against supposing themselves justified by virtue of Christ's death, while they remain unsanctified in heart, and polluted with sin.

The doctrine of the Eighth Proposition has been much opposed. It asserts the possibility of *Perfection in this life:* which perfection is defined to consist in a freedom from actual sinning and from transgressing the law of God. It is a state which admits of a growth; and from which there is a possibility of falling. The doctrine of those who plead for the impossibility of perfection, and for the continuance in sin, during life, is opposed at length; and the perfection for which our author pleads is placed in the full bringing forth of that pure and holy birth, the light of Christ in the soul.

The Ninth Proposition respects *Perseverance*, and the possibility of falling from grace. On these subjects the author's judgment may, in great measure, be inferred

from what precedes. Accordingly he is short in this part of the Apology; and his sense is, that the truth lies betwixt these two extremes, viz. the doctrine of such as affirm that the least degree of true and saving grace cannot be fallen from; and that of those who deny any such stability attainable, as that there can be no total and final apostacy from it.

In the Tenth Proposition, we meet with a subject on which the Society of Friends have appeared to differ more from other professors of Christianity, than on most other points, namely *Gospel-Ministry.* After explaining his sense of what constitutes the church, which he defines to be the society of such as God has called out of the worldly spirit, to walk in his light and life, he shows what is the call of a true minister, asserting it to be *the inward power and virtue of the Spirit of God;* and rejects the notion of succession from the apostles. Having established the call, he lays down the qualification of a minister, of which he asserts human learning to form no necessary part; but places all in the *power*, *life*, and *virtue* of the *Holy Spirit.* Lastly, he maintains that the true ministers should not, cannot, teach for hire; and he opposes the practice of a forced maintenance; concluding with a lively comparison between the ministry for which he pleads, and that for which the opposers of our Society plead. This is a very interesting part of the Apology, and teems with able arguments drawn both from the letter and the spirit of the gospel.

Worship is spoken of in the Eleventh Proposition. True worship is referred to an inward feeling of reverence and devotion, to the exclusion of all ceremonies which may be set about in the will of man. The author nevertheless takes care to assert the necessity of meeting at stated times, for worship; but that, when assembled, the great duty of all is to retire from their own imaginations, to wait to feel the Lord's presence, and to know indeed a gathering into his name; where, saith he, the secret virtue of life is felt to refresh the

soul; from which the acceptable worship is known, which edifies the church, and is well pleasing to God. The serious reader will probably find a secret influence engaging his mind to assent, whilst he peruses this part of the work; which certainly claims the attention of all who call themselves Friends.

The Twelfth and Thirteenth Propositions are employed on, what are termed the two sacraments, *Baptism* and the *Supper*. Baptism with water is declared not to be the one true baptism of Christ; which is proved to be inward and spiritual, according to the text, 'He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire:' and the objections of such as hold water baptism to be of perpetual obligation, are answered. The body and blood of Christ, of which believers partake, are asserted to be spiritual and not carnal; and to be really enjoyed as often as the soul retires into the light of the Lord, and feels and partakes of that heavenly life, by which the inward man is nourished. The arguments of those who contend for the ceremonious use of bread and wine, are considered and refuted.

The Fourteenth Proposition is, concerning the *power of the civil magistrate in matters purely religious, and pertaining to the conscience.* It may be well conceived that Barclay here firmly asserts the unlawfulness of any attempt to force the conscience. At the same time he gives no countenance to persons who, under pretence of conscience, would prejudice their neighbours.

The Fifteenth and last Proposition has for its title, *Concerning Salutations and Recreations*, though it also embraces some other objects. In it the author shows the unlawfulness, to Christians, of using flattering titles and compliments—of kneeling, prostrating, or bowing the body, or uncovering the head to any man—of superfluities in apparel for ornament and vanity—of sports, games, comedies, vain recreations, &c.—of swearing at all—and of resisting evil and fighting. On this occasion also, the objections of such as plead for those

things are ably answered; particularly in the case of oaths.

The Apology was presented, as the title expresses, to the king; to whom an address was prefixed, which, for its manly style, religious boldness, and yet decent respect, has been much admired. The inscription is 'Unto Charles II. king of Great Britain, and the dominions thereunto belonging.

'Robert Barclay, a servant of Jesus Christ, called of God to the dispensation of the gospel, now again revealed, and after a long and dark night of apostacy, commanded to be preached to all nations, wisheth health and salvation.'

The address is long, but not tedious. It does not assume, in any part, the appearance of a flattering dedication; and the author seems to have been particularly studious to guard against its being thought such. In one place he says, 'As it is inconsistent with the truth I bear, so it is far from me, to use this epistle as an engine to flatter thee, (the usual design of such works;) and therefore I can neither dedicate it to thee, nor crave thy patronage; as if thereby I might have more confidence to present it to the world, or be more hopeful of its success. To God alone I owe what I have, and that more immediately in matters spiritual; and therefore to Him alone, and to the service of his truth, I dedicate whatever work he brings forth in me; to whom only the praise and honour appertain: whose truth needs not the patronage of worldly princes, his arm and power being that alone by which it is propagated, established, and confirmed.'

The concluding paragraphs are remarkably simple, strong, and beautiful. 'There is,' says our author, 'no king in the world, who can so experimentally testify of God's providence and goodness; neither is there any who rules so many free people, so many true Christians: which thing renders thy government more honourable, and thyself more considerable, than the accession of many nations filled with slavish and superstitious souls.

'Thou hast tasted of prosperity and adversity. Thou knowest what it is to be banished thy native country; to be overruled, as well as to rule, and sit upon the throne: and, being oppressed, thou hast reason to know how hateful the oppressor is both to God and man. If, after all these warnings and advertisements, thou dost not turn to the Lord with all thy heart; but forget Him who remembered thee in thy distress, and give up thyself to follow lust and vanity; surely, great will be thy condemnation.

'Against which snare, as well as the temptation of those, that may, or do, feed thee and prompt thee to evil, the most excellent and prevalent remedy will be, to apply thyself to that light of Christ which shineth in thy conscience, which neither can nor will flatter thee, nor suffer thee to be at ease in thy sins; but doth, and will, deal plainly and faithfully with thee; as those, that are followers thereof, have also done.

'God Almighty, who hath so signally hitherto visited thee with his love, so touch and reach thy heart ere the day of thy visitation be expired, that thou mayst effectually turn to him, so as to improve thy place and station for his name. So wisheth, so prayeth thy faithful friend and subject,

'Robert Barclay.

'From Ury, the place of my pilgrimage, in my native country of Scotland, the 25th of the month called November, in the year 1675.'

For some years previous to the publication of the Apology, Friends and their adversaries had been engaged in controversy; and our author, from his retirement, had viewed the contest, and observed the misrepresentations of fact on which some of their adversaries' censures rested, as well as weighed the strength of the objections, which they brought against what they did not misrepresent. He therefore came forth more fully prepared to enter the lists himself. That he did so in a most able manner, the generally good reception of his book, when first published, and its

uniform and continued reputation, down to the present day, sufficiently demonstrate: and the important light in which it was viewed by those who were averse from the doctrines which it establishes, namely the stipendiary teachers, is evident from the number of them who endeavoured to controvert it.*

The next piece, in order of time† published by Robert Barclay, is entitled, 'Universal Love considered, and established upon its right foundation; being a serious enquiry how far charity may, and ought to be extended towards persons of different judgments in matters of religion; and whose principles, among the several sects of Christians, do most naturally lead to that due moderation required: writ in the spirit of love and meekness, for the removing of stumbling blocks out of the way of the simple, by a lover of the souls of all men.' The author first gives an account of his own experience on the subject, and then endeavours to state and demonstrate the nature of Christian love and charity, their consistency with true zeal; and the distinction of the latter from false, persecuting zeal. He then states his subject anew, as it respects the different divisions of Christians, showing that their conformity or want of conformity to universal love, is to be drawn from the nature of their principles, and not from the practice of particular persons among them. Thus much being premised, he examines the principles of several denominations, and finds them defective, and inconsistent with the principle of universal love; as Papists, Protestants in general, and Socinians. Lastly, he lays down some principles of Christianity which perfectly agree with true universal love. The reader may easily suppose that these are the principles held by Friends, and he will find the piece to be an

* As Brown, 'Quakerism the pathway to Paganism;' Bajerus, prof. of divinity at Jena; Holthusius, a preacher at Frankfort; Reiser, a pastor at Hamburg; Keith, 'The Quakers' Standard examined;' Bennet, 'Confutation of Quakerism,' &c.

† It is to be observed, that John Whiting's Catalogue of Friends' Books, pp. 5, 6, 7, is followed; not the series in 'Truth Triumphant.'

able recommendation of those principles, and an exposition of them in an amiable light. An edition of this work was printed so late as 1800; but the first was in 1677, the year in which it was written, while its benevolent author was himself suffering from the want of universal love, being a prisoner at Aberdeen.

The books which were written in reply to the Apology, have already been noticed. One of these, namely, 'Quakerism the pathway to Paganism,' had been printed before the publication of the first English edition of the Apology, and was the means of prompting Robert Barclay to hasten that edition to the press, that the public might have the whole controversy before them. He afterwards thought proper to give his adversary's book a more particular answer, which was published in the year 1679, under the title of 'R. B.'s Apology for the true Christian Divinity vindicated from John Brown's examination and pretended confutation thereof, in his book, called Quakerism the pathway to Paganism; in which vindication, John Brown's many gross perversions and abuses are discovered, and his furious and violent railings and revilings soberly rebuked.' It is common, in controversy, for authors to charge their opponents with railing; and the reader may think that our author, in his title page, has adopted the practice. He, however, makes good his charge, in his introduction, in which he says, 'Men used to be sober and moderate, that write controversies, in the beginning, at least, and not seek to prepossess the reader with prejudice against their adversaries, until, by the strength of their reason, they have proved them to deserve it; but this man is so full fraughted with malice, and so in love with railing, that he cannot forbear in the first page, where we have him calling us "Locusts, of whose ministry the devil makes use, only masculine in malice against Christ—breathing forth nothing but that putrid poison, that innate serpentine venom."' &c.* This is a specimen of the spirit with which our

* The perusal of this, excited a curiosity to look at Brown's epistle to the reader, in which the first words that took the attention, were 'Runagad Quaker,'

early Friends had to contend. Though it must be confessed that some of them (whether from the provocation they received, or from sharp language being the temper of the times) were not entirely free from it themselves, yet the reader of Barclay's writings will scarcely think that he has fallen into that error. In the book in question, our author follows his adversary through the following divisions of the subject. 1. The true ground of knowledge. 2. Inward and immediate revelation. 3. The Scriptures. 4. Man's natural state, and original sin. 5. Reprobation and universal redemption. 6. Possibility of universal salvation, universal grace, necessity of the light to salvation, the salvation of heathens. 7. Justification. 8. Perfection. 9. Perseverance. 10. Ministry, wherein of women's preaching. 11. Silent worship, &c. 12. Baptism. 13. The Lord's Supper. 14. Liberty of conscience. 15. Wars and oaths. 16. Civil honour, &c.* This book, which is about the size of the Apology, has never been reprinted otherwise than in the two editions of Truth Triumphant; and the book of Brown having long since fallen into general oblivion, the 'Vindication' is little read; yet it contains that part of the controversy which is the most useful part, the answering of objections, and therefore may still be read with advantage. William Penn esteemed it highly; and says he ranks the Apology and this book, in the front of Barclay's polemical writings. Of such writings, this was the last published by our author, and it was not replied to by his angry adversary.

There yet remain two tracts of Robert Barclay to be noticed, the first of which he calls 'An epistle of love and friendly advice to the ambassadors of the several princes of Europe, met at Nimeguen, to consult the peace of Christendom, so far as they are concerned;

and these were found to be the conclusion of the following string of epithets: 'This God-daring, Christ-blaspheming, Spirit-despiting generation, of the prodigiously profane and arrogant sect of Runagad Quakers.'

* These numbers do not correspond with those of R. B.'s sections, because there, § 1 is an introductory one.

wherein the true cause of the present War is discovered, and means for a firm and settled peace is proposed, by R. Barclay, a lover and travailer for the peace of Christendom.' This is a most instructive piece. Its object is to show the ground of war, and that means for promoting peace, while these grounds remain, are likely to be unstable and ineffectual: at the same time pointing the way by which a lasting peace may prevail. It has the following postcript: 'This came upon me from the Lord, to write unto you, at Ury in my native country of Scotland, the 2d of the month called November, 1677.' Though it is long for a letter, and probably was not read by all the statesmen to whom it was addressed, it is short for a treatise. The tract, however, is full and clear; and it is hoped that this brief recommendation may induce the reader to give it a serious perusal. The letter was originally written in Latin; and afterwards translated and published for the satisfaction of such as could not read the original. To the translation, printed 1679, the following historical memoir is subjoined. 'Copies of the foresaid epistle in Latin, were, upon the 23d and 24th days of the month called February, 1678, delivered at Nimeguen, to the ambassadors of the emperor, of the kings of Great Britain, Spain and France, Sweden and Denmark, of the prince elector Palatine, as also of the States General, and of the dukes of Lorrain, Holstein, Lunenburg, Osnaburg, Hanover, and the pope's nuncio; to wit, one to each ambassador, and one to each of their principals; together with so many copies of the book, of which the author makes mention in the letter, the title whereof is "Roberti Barclaii, theologiæ veræ Christianæ Apologia; Carolo secundo, Magnæ Britanniæ, &c. regi, oblata."* This was the Latin title of the Apology, which was enlarged, as we have seen, in the English edition.

Robert Barclay's last printed work was the translation of a long Latin letter, which he had some years

* Robert Barclay's Apology for true Christian Divinity, presented to Charles II. king of Great Britain, &c.

before written to a person of quality in Holland, on the following occasion. The person in question was Adrian Paets. Robert Barclay, having had some conversation with him respecting the principles of Friends, was requested by Paets to reconsider the strength of the arguments which he had adduced against Barclay's doctrine. This Barclay accordingly did; and finding them weaker the more he examined them, he wrote from his prison at Aberdeen, the letter to Paets. Some years afterwards he met with Paets again, in London,* who, after some further conversation, confessed 'that he had been mistaken in his notion of the Quakers; for he found they could make a reasonable plea for the foundation of their religion.' Shortly after, our author translated and published his letter in English, giving it this title: 'The possibility and necessity of the inward and immediate revelation of the Spirit of God, towards the foundation and ground of true faith, proved: in a letter writ in Latin to a person of quality in Holland; and now also put into English, by R. B.' This letter is wholly argumentative; and it has been considered by those who have read it with attention, as one of the author's most accurate pieces. It has much of a metaphysical cast, and is rather calculated for the learned and the nice discerner, than for the ignorant and simple; and was probably, on that account, the more acceptable to the person to whom it was addressed, and the more impressive.

The works of Robert Barclay were collected after his decease, and published in 1692, in a folio volume, entitled 'Truth Triumphant, through the Spiritual warfare, Christian labours, and writings, of that able and faithful servant of Jesus Christ, Robert Barclay.' It is still occasionally to be met with. An edition, in three volumes octavo, came out in 1718; but this is

* Paets was then a Commissioner for the Dutch East India Company. When Barclay saw him before, he had just returned from an embassy to Spain, from the States General.

now very scarce. Should, however, the first and third volumes be procured, an Apology completes the set. The English Apology itself has been printed eight times* in London. Accordingly, the London edition of 1780 is called the eighth. But there has been also a Dublin edition, and one in large quarto by Baskerville at Birmingham. There is a Dutch translation, of which there are two editions; one in Danish; one in German, of which there are three editions; one in Spanish, and two in French. The French one of 1702 is said to be so ill done as to mislead. That of 1797 may be depended on; but in any difficult case, the Latin is the best means of deciding.†

Of the Latin, a second edition was published in octavo, 1729, said to be 'priore emendatior.'

Of the Catechism, there is one Latin edition still extant. The last English edition in 1787, is the twelfth. Of the Anarchy of the Ranters, and Universal Love, it has already been mentioned that there are editions extant.

That it would be gratifying to the writer of the foregoing account of the works of Robert Barclay, to know it had been the means of increasing the number of their readers, is of small importance; but if, by reading them, or a part of them, any persons should be induced to adopt and put in practice the truths

* Unless the first edition may be excepted, on account of the place where it was printed not being mentioned.

† In the first edition, pa. 161, the 4th, pa. 243, the 6th, pa. 243, there is a remarkable error under Prop. 8. Perfection. § 2. 4thly, viz. Who have *not* attained to everlasting life, instead of, Who have attained, &c.—Latin, Qui adepti sunt. The same error is in Truth Triumphant, folio, pa. 388, in the German of 1740, and in the French edition of 1702, p. 276. The passage is right in the 5th, 7th and 8th, Lond. and in Baskerville's, also in the German of 1684 and 1776, the Dutch of 1757, the French of 1797, and in the Spanish. An opportunity of examining the 2d and 3d, or the 8vo edition of Truth Triumphant, has not occurred.

which Barclay recommends, the result to themselves may be both important and happy.

The mind, especially when not much accustomed to dwell on religious considerations, is not always disposed to advert to serious subjects. Sometimes, however, and particularly in youth, there are seasons when anxiety respecting the concerns of a future life will prevail, and disturb the joy, which the pursuit and the acquirement of the pleasant things of time are wont to afford.

Happy is it, that these interruptions are experienced; for they bring into view greater and more permanent pleasures. On such occasions, religion comes for the purpose of bringing balm to the soul, and of alleviating its burthens; not to increase its oppressions.

The restraints of a religious life are, indeed, sometimes irksome; though principally at the entrance, and less so, as we proceed; but in proportion as the mind is willing to suffer a sense of its weaknesses and wants to remain upon it, without seeking relief from dissipation, (taking that word in its least offensive meaning,) it will the less feel those restraints to be irksome, because it will know them to be the harbingers of more perfect freedom.

In this state of mind, a review of the experience of those who have more largely tasted both of the bitterness and the sweetness of a religious life, who have borne the cross, and felt the consolation of Christianity, will, at times, be a delightful recreation. Among the number of those cheering and instructive examples, may be considered that of the man whose religious labours have been exhibited in this volume. Though Robert Barclay deals more in argument than in narrative, yet his writings contain much encouragement to sincere hearted persons, travelling through the temptations of time to the rewards of eternity.

These writings also deserve peculiar commendation on this account, that they bear strong and ample testimony to Christ, the sure refuge of the weary soul.

The most feeble persevering Christian may be animated with the hope of reaching that sure refuge, when he reflects, that his Lord hath declared to the least, as well as to the greatest servant of his family, 'Him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out.'

PREFACE TO THE READER.

When the Son of God had wrought that mighty miracle of feeding five thousand persons, with only five loaves and two small fishes, he said to his disciples, *'Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost.' This preface no sooner fell to my share, than this passage was brought to my mind, and very aptly to the occasion. For our blessed Lord having also effectually gathered and fed his people, by his disciples in this generation, it is a duty we owe to God and ourselves as well as to them, that 'we gather up the remainder of their testimonies of love and service, that so nothing be lost.' To God we owe it, for his unspeakable benefit; to ourselves, for our example and instruction; and to the memories of such deceased brethren, as their just, but fairer and more lasting monuments, than those of engraven tables of marble, or statues of brass: as their works look beyond this world, so their praise will outlive it. There is an unfading glory in the labours of good men; and though death is permitted to draw a dark shadow over their persons, they will live in the just reputation of their good works, the lively characters of their undying, pious minds. It cannot wither their fame, or obliviate their names: on the contrary, death often silences envy, and augments their deserved praise.

The author of these collected labours was one of them; and as he has left us, so has he left these to us for his legacy; the better part, doubtless, of his estate, as befitted the divine nature of our kindred. Not, therefore, for ostentation, or to indulge a worldly custom, but to the glory of the invisible God, the edification of his church, the benefit of all people, and as a

* John vi. 12.

testimony of our respect to the deceased author, and of his fidelity and service to the truth, this ensuing volume, reader, is published, as thou seest, which brings me to the nature of it, and the several parts that do compile it.

Divinity, plain, sound, Christian divinity, the most glorious and entertaining object of the soul of man, is the subject matter of this following book: divinity, I say, in all the right senses of the word. In its first and stricter sense, to wit, the Divine Nature, or Godhead, this is humbly and reverently considered; but more especially in its larger acceptation, viz. of the knowledge of God, and those doctrines of truth and order, that immediately relate to the duty we owe to God and man, both in and out of society. In short, faith and practice, (which is the course mankind should steer through this world to the haven of everlasting rest,) as we cannot find a better subject, so it will be hard to find it better treated and followed; not because he was more of a scholar than some others, but in that he was more gifted than many others. For this knowledge of divinity comes not by the means of university learning, but that of the school of Christ, by the illumination of his light and spirit, and the holy doctrine and discipline of his cross; in one great, but true word, *regeneration*, which is an experimental science, and to be had 'without money, and without price,' and that both by gentle and simple, rich and poor, &c., but not without labour, pain and travail; which made our blessed Lord say, *'Labour not for the bread that perishes; but for that which endureth to everlasting life.' And the Apostle tells us, 'We must work out our salvation with trembling, and give diligence to make our calling and election sure.' It consists of divers† operations, but all by the same light and spirit; and because all have need of it, all partake of it, that they may profit by it. 'It enlightens all that come into the world,' says the

* John vi. 27. Phil. ii. 12. 2 Pet. i. 10. † 1 Cor. xii. 4, 5, 6. John i. 9.

beloved disciple; and whatsoever may be known of God, his mind and will is manifested in them, for * God, (by the revelation of this light) hath shown it unto them, says the apostle, to the Romans. And again, Whatsoever is reproved, is made manifest by it; it is made the touchstone of our lives and conversations, for we are to bring our deeds to it. It leads to the benefit of the blood of Jesus, that cleanseth from all sin, and gives us fellowship with God and one with another, as his children and people. It is our armour also against all the fiery darts, and furious assaults and crafty workings of Satan, our great and common enemy: nay, the nations of them that are saved, must walk in this light. Yea, it is the light of the soul on earth, and the light of the spirits of the just made perfect in heaven too in the divers degrees of it: And man is darkness, as to divine matters, till he turns to this blessed light in him: which is the true manifestation of the Son of God to and in the soul and mind of man; the real seed and root of all divine knowledge and life in man, which only gives him a sight, sense and savour of divine things, and of that immortality he otherways vainly talks of, and hopes for. The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord, indeed, when it is lighted by this glorious light: but in the wicked it is said to be often put out; not the light itself, but man's spirit, which becomes a dark candle again, (as it was before it was enlightened by this true light,) through his disobedience to it. It is called light, because of that discovery it makes, and sure evidence it gives of God's mind, and man's duty and ways. That which is called light, is also called spirit, because of the life and sense it begets in the soul of its condition: it quickens man, that was dead in sins and trespasses; for sin hardens the heart, as well as darkens the understanding: and this glorious principle by its spiritual efficacy makes it sensible, soft and tender; so that the least sin is felt, as well as discerned. Not an evil thought passes, or a temptation to it, but this living

* Rom. i. 19. Ephes. v. 13. Joh. iii. 20, 21. 1 Joh. i. 5. 6, 7.

heart turns against it; an antipathy shows itself, and 'Get thee behind me, Satan,' is the determined sentence of the enlivened soul. It is of this spirit the apostle speaks to the Corinthians, and it makes almost an entire chapter. He tells us, that it 'searches the deep things of God;' and without which man cannot discern spiritual things: and he gives a reason for it, too, grounded on his own experience, the just authority of his confidence; because, 'The natural man perceiveth not the things of God, neither can he (as such) because they are spiritually discerned.' The natural man may talk of them, of God, his nature and attributes; of Christ, his relation, natures and offices; of regeneration, which is the great work of the Son of God in and upon man: but, alas! that is all the natural man with all his natural powers, and skill is capable of; he can go no deeper: 'tis all hearsay and imagination. For they are a mystery shut up close from all unsanctified hearts and heads: yea, they are all wrapt up, and strongly inclosed in this holy seed of light and spirit, that shines in the dark hearts of men, and through the power of that darkness they cannot comprehend it. The ground of which darkness is *disobedience:* which made Christ say to the Jews, *'If you will do the will of God, you shall know of my doctrine, if it be of God or not.' I say, the mystery, power, and virtue of Christianity is shut up in this divine seed: and if thou, O reader! knowest it not, but art only speculatively a Christian, open thy heart, and let it into the good ground; and thou shalt quickly find the efficacy and excellency of it in the fruits that will spring from it. The increase will be very great, and the † taste thereof sweeter much than the honey or the honey-comb. 'She is a tree of life (said a wise and a great king of old time) to all them that lay hold upon her; and happy is every one that retaineth her: for her fruit is better than gold, and her revenue than choice silver.' It was by

* Joh. vii. 17. † Psal. xix. 10. Prov. iii. 18. viii. 19. ix. 10. Job xxviii. 11. Psal. x. Tit. ii. 11, 12, 13.

him styled wisdom, because it made him wise; and will make every one, that is taught by it: for it makes people wise to salvation by teaching them the fear of the Lord, and to depart from iniquity, and every evil way. All such are said to have a good understanding. The apostle Paul also calleth it the 'grace of God, that bringeth salvation, that hath appeared to all men,' &c. *grace*, because it is God's free gift, not our merit or purchase. * 'God so loved the world, he gave his only begotten Son to save it; who was full of grace and truth: and of his fulness we receive grace for grace in order to salvation.' In which saying of the apostle, five things are to be seriously remarked, as comprehensive of the very body of our Christian divinity. First, the principle, talent, or gift, which God giveth to man; and that is his grace, the grace of God, &c. Secondly, this grace, talent, gift, or principle, is sufficient to the end, for which it is given, viz. it bringeth salvation. God bestows it for that purpose. Paul might well say so, that had tried the power and virtue of it under the greatest temptation. As God told him, his † grace was sufficient for him; so he found it to his exceeding great joy. Thirdly, the universality of God's bounty; it appears to all men, more or less. It is so intended. Christ died for all, and distributes grace to all, that all might come to the ‡ knowledge of the truth, as it is in Jesus, and be saved. Fourthly, the way, by which the sufficiency and universality of it is demonstrated, and that is, the teaching quality and virtue of it, v. 12. 'Teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world.' This every one feels in his own bosom at times, and that of all religions and of all nations; a just monitor, a secret reprover, and a faithful witness. Blessed are they, that give heed thereunto, and learn of it what to leave, and what to do; what to shun, and what to embrace: for it § 'leads in the ways of righteousness,

* Joh. iii. 16. i. 14. 16. † 2 Cor. xii. 8, 9. ‡ 1 Tim. ii. 4.
§ Prov. viii. 20. Mich. vi. 8.

and in the midst of the paths of judgment.' It is by this, God showeth man his thoughts, and what he doth require of him. This it is, that man has made an adversary by his iniquities, which he must make peace with, lest he bring him before the *judge, and he cast him into prison, and he come not out till he has paid the uttermost farthing. This inward teaching, reproving, exhorting light, spirit or grace of God, learns us two lessons, which make up the holy order of our conversion and salvation. 1. *What we are to deny.* 2. *What we are to do.* We are to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts; and, it will show us what they are, both within and without, in thought as well as in word and deed, if we will attend to it, and watch and wait upon it. And, though the grosser evils, that carry the largest characters of impiety, are easily seen and observed, yet there are lusts, that lie near, and stick close, that are less perceptible, and, it may be, are hardly, by some, thought evil neither: as in relation to extremes in food, apparel, furniture, discourse, converse, gain, honour, revenge, emulation, &c. And there is an ungodliness in a mystery too, which utterly mistakes and overthrows the true nature and end of religion, as well as palpable enormities; such is setting up the form above the power of godliness, human traditions above the Scriptures, and opposing that to the Spirit of God, which it testifies of, and so often refers unto, and making and pressing civil edicts about matters of faith, and suffering none to live and enjoy what is their own, and prosecute their lawful callings for the maintenance of their families; unless they will forego convictions, play the hypocrite, be of their creed, and receive their †mark in their forehead, or at least in their right hand, by which means they have made a worldly interest and empire of the church, and of religion (that should be the purity and peace of the world) a mere step and test to temporal preferment. These are the things, under which religion, and, indeed, civil society, and true civil

* Matt. v. 25. † Rev. xiii. 16. xiv. 9.

policy groan, as well as other impieties; though by worldly men, and some that would be thought religious too, this is as little seen, as the more sensual ungodliness is amended. For all which the eternal God is come by many judgments, and coming in *'flames of fire, to execute vengeance upon the wicked,' whatever carnal and secure minds think; and it is not the least of our miseries, that we are but too unsensible of it.

Thus we see, what we are taught by the grace to deny: let us next consider the other part of our duty, which the grace teacheth us, and that is, *What we are to do.* Teaching us, says the great and zealous apostle, 'that, denying ungodliness and worldly lust, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world.' This is also a most comprehensive expression, a plain and easy compend of our active duty to God and man; yea, to ourselves.

Soberly, that is, with moderation, temper, government of our passions and affections, †'let your moderation be known unto all men,' said the same apostle. His reason was pressing and unanswerable; 'for the Lord is at hand.' So be sober, for the Lord's at hand; and let men see that we are so. Though the exhortation chiefly regards ourselves, that we may not abuse or disorder ourselves, overdo or act in reference to our own persons and affairs; as if he had said, be sober and moderate in thy giving, getting, conversing; in thy pains and pleasures, in thoughts, words, and deeds; in thy whole man and life.

Righteously, refers to our neighbour, to do as we would be done to; to defraud none, oppress none; but discharge all relations and conditions uprightly, to ‡'parents, magistrates, husband, wife, children, servants, neighbours, strangers, enemies: Just weights and measures, old land-marks, and an even balance;' these are well pleasing to God in all ranks and relations.

* 1 Thess. i. 7. 8. † Phil. iv. 5. ‡ 1 Cor. vi. 7, 8, 9. Ephes. vi. 1—10. Col. iii. 20—25. Prov. xx. 10. xxii. 28.

Godly in this present world, relates chiefly to God, the faith, worship and obedience we owe to him; obedience by a pious life: *'For this is the will of God, even our sanctification; without holiness none shall see Him.' So that to be godly, is to live after God, not the world; and after his Spirit, not our flesh; but to †'crucify the flesh with the lusts thereof, and put on the Lord Jesus Christ, (his meekness, his patience, humility, mercy, forgiveness, love, temperance, and righteousness,) and make no more provision for the flesh to fulfil the lust thereof.' No more be in pain, what we should eat or drink, or put on, or how we may make ourselves wealthy or mighty in the earth, after the way of the old Gentiles, that knew not God; as is the custom of almost the whole Christian world (so called) at this very day, (which general declension shows, that a general judgment, and an overflowing scourge of God is at hand;) but to seek the kingdom of God first, and deny ourselves, and watch and pray; waiting all the days of our ‡'appointed time,' until our great and last change shall come, so that godliness is God-likeness; translation, renewing, yea, the first resurrection, that those who attain to it, the second death shall have no power over them. This §'godliness with contentment is the greatest gain, and profitable in all things;' the sum and substance of religion, and of all God's dispensations in the world; yea, the very end of Christ's coming, and the blessed fruit of his victory over hell, death and the grave; that sin might have an end, the devil's works in man and woman be destroyed, and man made an ‖holy temple and tabernacle for God to dwell in. This is godliness, and this godliness is the way to please God; to lay up treasure in heaven, to be fruitful in grace, rich in faith and good works, and to lay hold on eternal life, and become heirs of an inheritance incorruptible.

Which brings me to the fifth and last thing observ-

* 1 Thess. iv. 3. † Rom. xiii. 12—14. Gal. v. 22—25. ‡ Job, xi. 14. § 1 Tim. iv. 8. vi. 6. 1 Joh. iii. 5, 8. ‖ 2 Cor. vi. 16. Mat. vi. 20. 1 Tim. vi. 18, 19.

able from this comprehensive passage, viz. The comfortable reward and end of this life and grace, in verse 13: 'Looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour, Jesus Christ.' That is, looking for the fulfilling of that blessed hope, to have what they hoped for: an hope that does not make ashamed those that have it; but is an anchor to the soul in the greatest storms, that attend men on their way to blessedness. It is for the accomplishment of this hope, the gracious livers have a title to expect and wait. They that have been taught by the grace, what to deny, and what to do, and to look and live above the world, and by an eye of faith to pierce through the dark clouds of time, and steadfastly to look into the things that are eternal, they are but travellers and pilgrims, as were all the godly fathers of old time; and expect with them 'a *city, whose builder and maker is God.' These wait for the glorious appearing of the great God, and their Saviour, Jesus Christ, as the blessed end of their hope, and to them he will certainly come, as the glorious and faithful rewarder of the faith, obedience, and perseverance of his poor disciples and servants: 'they shall reign with him a thousand years, and for ever.' Their obedience and sufferings are but temporal, but the recompense everlasting. †'Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor has the heart of man been able to perceive the good things, that God has laid up in store for those that love him;' but in the heavens, that do not wax old, and which will never pass away, those holy courts of God, the true followers of Jesus, the children of light, and disciples of the cross, that come through the many tribulations, (from conviction to conversion, from conversion to consummation, the end of all,) shall understand, taste and enjoy those hidden and divine pleasures, that are as ineffable as they are eternal.

This, reader, is the old divinity, that of Christ and

* Heb. xi. 10. † Isa. lxiv. 4. 1 Cor. ii. 9, 10. Psal. lxxxiv. 1, 10.

his blessed apostles' time and teaching, renewed in our days by the fresh breaking forth of the same light, spirit and grace, that brought this doctrine of immortality to light, in those primitive and happy ages; yea, immortality itself, a divine, never-dying life into the soul, that which quickens it out of the sleepy and dead estate, sin brings it into, by which it loseth all savour or relish of spiritual things. I say, this is the divinity God has renewed among us, an experimental work or operation of his light, spirit and grace in our souls: this (light) is the great luminary of the intellectual world, that expels the darkness, and scatters the mists of sin and death, that the souls of men labour under, where it is received and obeyed. This is the day of God, in which the whole world has a visitation; that by which we are to see our way to God, and duty to him and all men, as the outward sun is the means by which we see our outward ways, and the difference of outward things. This was the principle that divinely endued the author of the ensuing volume, and has enabled him to write of God and his attributes, by the power and truth of them upon his own soul. He felt his justice in himself for his disobedience; his mercy by the forgiveness of his sin, through faith and repentance; his holiness by the sanctification of his grace, through obedience to the teachings of it; that God is a spirit, by the spiritual operations upon his own soul, the spiritual part of himself; and omnipresent, because he felt his presence, or him present as a reprover, or a comforter, wherever he was or went; omniscient, for the same reason, because he could not think amiss, but he was sensible in himself, that God knew and saw it, by the reproof that followed it; omnipotent, because he experienced that power by which the soul is redeemed from death, and sinners are made saints; the most excellent and self-evident proof of God's omnipotency or all-sufficiency. For nothing can regenerate, but that which made; nor renew, but that which created: and as the

heavens are nobler than the earth, so is the soul than the body; renovation and redemption than creation; and resurrection than our former life.

This, reader, thou shalt come to know to be true, as any demonstration, that can be made to thy outward senses, if thou wilt but turn in thy mind to this teacher, and wilt become the humble scholar of this divine Master, and learn of him in true silence and with diligence. Ponder what I say. Wouldst thou know God, and be fitted for his heavenly mansions, seek him in his image, and thou wilt know the original by it. Be thou but as clay is in the hands of the potter, pliable, and he will form and fashion thee aright. He will make thee a vessel of honour for his own house and use; and by the self-denial, love, purity, patience, righteousness, &c. that he will work in thee, or work thee into, thou shalt be able to pronounce truly and knowingly, God is, and that he is a rewarder of them that fear him. Surely, there is a God in all the earth. Then wilt thou be able to say with holy David and Mary: *'O my soul, bless the Lord, and all that is within me, praise his holy name. My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour; for he is good: for his mercy endureth for ever! Amen, Lord Jesus! Amen.'

I am now come to the labours of our author; and shall mention them according to their respective times, with the nature of their subjects in brief, to inform and excite the reader to their perusal.

The first of them in order of place, was so in order of time; it is called *Truth cleared of Calumnies.* He writ it, at least published it 1670. The occasion of it was a book, entitled *A Dialogue between a Quaker and a Stable Christian:* the invention (it is supposed) of one W. Mitchell, a preacher near Aberdeen; the disingenuous fruit of a long controversy between him and some other bitter sticklers, and the people called

* Psal. ciii. 1. Luke i. 46, 47.

Quakers, who as well by that discourse, as in the pulpits of those times, were represented (as was our Lord Jesus and his followers) the worst of men, possest of the devil, and blasphemers, under pretence of being led by the Spirit: and for their principles, that they denied the true Christ, angels, heaven, and hell; that they held no sort of resurrection of the body, nor final judgment; were enemies to magistrates and ministry; comparing them with the worst of heretics, to inflame the people against them. A field large enough for this zealous young soldier to engage his adversary in, and where one of a less capacity than God had blessed him with, might, without any presumption, have comforted himself with an assured success; which with much ease and plainness he hath obtained against the Goliah-like vanity and presumption of the author of the said dialogue: and in which he has detected the power and evil effects both of ignorance and malice, and shown and defended the innocency of his friends; and above all, the soundness and scripture-verity of their principles. It is written with strength and moderation.

His next public service of this kind was published in the same year, called, *Queries to the Inhabitants of Aberdeen.* It is the most eminent place in the north of Scotland, and near his father's seat, then alive, and many years after. They contain the principles and practices of the children of error and truth, wherein the inhabitants of that place especially might see themselves, what they were, and what they should be; and remember some of them what they once pretended to seek for, and enjoyed, and were fallen from: writ as an appendix to the former discourse.

His third book was writ in the year following 1671, upon the same controversy, and against the same opposer, namely W. Mitchell, entitled *William Mitchell Unmasked;* being a rejoinder to that person's reply to his *Truth cleared of Calumnies.* In which the dispute rises high, and the contest seems sharp and close; but to every impartial reader the advantage evidently runs

upon our author's side, who appears rather zealous than heated, and sharp on his enemy's matter than person: for he rather pities his enemy, than triumphs over his weakness and envy. Here, as in an exact draught, the reader has an account of the fabulous principles given under our names, and those that we really profess; and the pleasure, even men pretending to religion take, to render a poor self-denying people that, which they are not: as if they feared, we should be in the right, or hold principles nearer, to what they profess themselves to believe, than is convenient for their interest with the people to allow; lest that, together with the sobriety, their worst enemies confess to be so conspicuous among them, should give them too great a credit with their hearers.

The next year 1672, he writ *A seasonable warning and exhortation to and expostulation with the inhabitants of Aberdeen, concerning this present dispensation and day of God's living visitation towards them.* A serious title and dedication, and a serious discourse; they are deeply indebted to his love, labour and memory. I pray God, it may be as 'bread cast upon the waters,' to the inhabitants of that northern city of this famous isle of Britain, and that they and theirs after these many days that have past, may find it to their spiritual edification; that they may know, there was a servant and prophet of God among them, with the testimony of the everlasting gospel, which is the power of God revealed in man, to regenerate him. May it never rise up in judgment against that people!

His fifth book was his catechism writ in 1673, the title, *A catechism and confession of faith, approved of and agreed unto by the general assembly of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, Christ himself chief speaker in and among them:* which containeth a true and faithful account of the *principles* and *doctrines*, which are most surely believed by the *churches* of *Christ* in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, who are reproachfully called by the name of *Quakers;* yet are found in the one faith with the *primitive*

church and *saints;* as is most clearly demonstrated by some plain *Scripture testimonies*, (without consequences or commentaries,) which are here collected and inserted by way of *answer* to a few weighty, yet easy and familiar *questions*, fitted as well for the wisest and largest, as for the weakest and lowest capacities, and *expostulation* with and appeal to all other *professors* (of religion.) It was a Scripture-essay in the heat of divers controversies then on foot; and as of very good use, so it has past three impressions before this. That at which the author aimed, was, giving the clear and native sense and authority of the Holy Ghost in Scripture upon every point of faith and practice, especially those that were controverted; suggesting the points successively, in questions from head to head, and giving answer by proper scriptures, without any consequences, leaving it to every reader to judge how far the question and answer agreed, and what sense the Holy Ghost exprest as to the point stated in the question, be it (for example) of faith, works, grace, revelation, justification, sanctification, &c. And indeed, it were greatly to be desired, that where men cannot agree in their comment, who yet agree in the text, they would strive to improve piety and charity under generalities, where they do and can meet, and would * 'study to be quiet, and follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord.' It was a great unhappiness to men, as well as an injury to religion itself, that it has been branched and broken into so many parts and points; and more, that some men have so boldly and critically superfined upon them; but worst of all, that governments have troubled themselves to give them authority, or make them the current creeds of their countries, and to deny and put down as base and adulterate, all principles or doctrines of a different sense, though they have an intrinsic worth, and the exemplary virtue of their professors to recommend them. But I must remember I am writing a preface, and not

* Rom. xii. 10, 18. Col. iii. 14, 15.

a book; and yet before I leave this, I must say, that I very much value the simplicity of this catechism, and the design of the writer in it; and wish, that those who seek a satisfaction by reading of points in religion, would seriously read it; for the collection that is made out of the Scriptures to every head suggested by way of question, carry that charity, unity and authority with them, that, I would think, should satisfy the serious, and silence the curious enquirer.

The sixth book of the ensuing volume came out in the year 1674. It is called, *The Anarchy of the Ranters and other libertines, the hierarchy of the Romanists and other pretended churches, equally refused and refuted, in a two-fold apology for the church and people of God, called Quakers, &c.* The purpose of this book was, as the rest of the title shows, to justify his friends from disorder against the charge of one sort of people, and imposition and tyranny over conscience, against the mistakes and insinuations of another sort of people: showing further, that as the ancient gospel is in this age restored in its purity by their testimony; so the apostolical order of the Church of Christ is the practice and ornament of their Christian Society, and settled upon its only right foundation, viz. the love and unity of the spirit of wisdom.

This discourse touching the tender place, both of those that exercise a coercive authority over conscience on the one hand, and of those, that to avoid the extreme, run into an absolute, personal independency in point of order and government, on the other hand, both sorts were not a little disgusted; but the latter more especially, that thought themselves chiefly concerned in the author's intentions and labour. And, indeed, the rise and ground of the discourse was the dissatisfaction of some that professed to be of the same Society, about the methods of proceeding, as a Christian community, for the honour of our holy profession. Some mistook him; others too designedly inveighed against him: The animosity rises so high in some few leading per-

sons of that dissent, as to question his sincerity to the profession he made of religion in general, whispering him to be popishly affected, if not a Papist; and perhaps a graduated one too. And why? First, because he was bred in France at school, under an uncle, that was a Papist, if not a priest. Secondly, because he maintained church authority at as high a rate, at least upon the same principles. But for the first, his father, who was always a zealous Protestant, coming heartily to embrace the communion of the despised Quakers, and showing himself an exemplary member of their Society, commanded his son over, being yet a child, and only sent thither for the advantage of a relation, and of learning French and Latin together; and that upon the pressing importunity of his father's own brother, that was president of the Scotch College, where the learning common at our schools, as well as at universities, is daily taught.

To the second reason; it flows from weakness or something worse. For first, if he defends the necessity and service of order by any arguments the church of Rome has used to support her power, it cannot conclude him of the same principle or spirit, unless it were to carry it to the same end and extremity, which is denied. Next, church government must no more be denied, because the church of Rome pleads for it, than any other truth that she asserts. There are principles held by Jews and Turks in common with Christians, must Christians therefore renounce these common truths, or be branded with Judaism or Turcism? Nor is the abuse of a principle or practice by any society a reason, why another communion should be abused for retaining or using it. The power we claim and use, differs both in its nature and object, from the power used by the Roman and other churches too: in nature, for ours is not coercive and penal upon the persons or estates of such as dissent; and that not because we want power, but because we believe it to be evil to do so: but theirs is coercive and penal either by them-

selves or their proxy, the civil magistrate, who is a member of their church. In object they differ, because their authority regards matters of faith and worship; but that we use, only order, and the government of society. And here I must beseech those few, that are under any dissatisfaction, into whose hands this may come, to stop awhile, and ponder with the spirit of meekness and wisdom upon this distinction, where I conceive the stress lies; and the matter in controversy may receive a satisfactory issue.

The Protestants accuse the church of Rome with the addition of articles of faith, and institutions in worship that are foreign to the Scriptures, and the first centuries or more primitive ages of the church; and charge their dissent from her communion upon that head. The Protestant dissenters impeach Protestant national churches in some sense about articles of faith, but plainly and strenuously with the innovation and imposition of divers institutions, and ceremonies in worship, that are not found in scripture; which is the best and truest tradition of the belief and practice of those purer times, in which they were written; and they lay their separation upon this: which has been followed with an age of severity on one hand, as zealous of church discipline, and on the other hand, of great sufferings, both in person, and estate out of conscience, and zeal for the simplicity, purity and example of scripture worship against human inventions. But this is neither our case, nor our dissenters' pretence; for we never assumed to ourselves a faith or worship-making-power, nor did any one of the most scrupulous of them ever charge it upon us. We pretend not to introduce fresh points of faith, or other methods of worship than it pleased God by his heavenly light and spirit to lead us into at the beginning of our blessed dispensation. There are no forms of words, set gestures or peculiar garments dedicated and enjoined among us, or any novelties, as to our places of worship introduced, in which we symbolize with others we condemned, or dif-

fer from ourselves in what we once owned. Our case is plain order, not articles of faith; and the discipline of government, not of worship: we are a Society, and therefore cannot be longer independent one of another. We believe indeed for ourselves, and ought to do so, and came voluntarily into this communion; the ground of it being the inward persuasion of our own minds, from a spiritual liking of principles and practice, and above all, that divine sense and power, which we felt to unite our hearts in the communion of worship (without which primitive sense and integrity, the best part of the fellowship will be lost, and the rest be but as a body without the spirit:) but being hereby drawn and engaged in Society, there is an outward, a civil and temporal part, that must be considered and discharged; though in comparison of the inmost motives of our fellowship, it is but as a body to the soul. And in this sense, we are not our own masters; we are in subjection, and must be in subjection, akin one to another, and answerable one to another, and in some sense one for another, at least to those that are without. For which cause we cannot say as Cain answered God, when he asked him, where his brother was, 'I am not my brother's keeper:' but as the apostle said, we are not our own in reference to the title God hath to us, and that not only by creation, but by redemption also; and that faith, worship, and obedience we therefore owe to him. So in Society we are not our own, but Christ's, and the church's, to good works and services, yet all in love. For example: all societies have poor, sick, aged, widows, orphans, &c. These cannot be duly regarded and supplied, but by the care of the whole; nor that care so effectually taken without method; nor that method settled without the concurrence of the communion: here then is power, and here is order; what must he be called that opposes this? But yet further: all societies marry, trade and converse promiscuously, and have one time or other some that are unjust, litigious, licentious and others; that though they may not fall

under the censure of those without, yet deviate from their first testimony and principles, upon which they joined themselves in fellowship. What is to be done in this case? Has this Society no power to establish such wholesome methods, as may prevent disorder and scandal both to those within and those without? And is she not the proper judge as well as authoriser, of what is fittest to be done in such cases? Remembering all along, that it is not about things relating to faith and worship, or such a sort of exercise of conscience towards God; but about such things, as immediately refer to conversation and practice among men (wherein nevertheless we ought to have the fear of God before our eyes, that, as the apostle says, we may do all things to the praise and glory of God) I say, here is no need of such an exercise of conscience in these things, as if it had faith for an object. Nor would it sound congruous to common sense, that because we may reasonably plead conscience against acknowledging such an article of belief, or practising such an institution of worship, which hath God for the object, where conscience is not satisfied; therefore I may say, it is against my conscience to comply with such orders, as tend to support the poor, visit the sick, help the aged, end differences, reprove the licentious, comfort the tempted, reclaim the backslider: or if I should say, it is against my conscience to ask my relations' leave, or the woman's I intend to marry, before I propound my design to her, or to give them, or the Society I am of, any satisfaction of my clearness from all others, by staying, before I marry, such a due time for inquiry, as they think safe and decent, both for my credit and their own; and which is at the same time the general practice of that Society, of which I am a member; this, I say, has no consequence or coherence with the other just plea of conscience, that has faith and worship for objects. It must be therefore at least a fruit of inadvertency and weakness, not to distinguish rightly between the discipline of worship, where conformity is

free, and the discipline of conversation and Society, where it is certainly obligatory, or Society ceases. For what is Society, but a voluntary compound of independent persons, or the resignation of singles into community? And what is every member's doing as it listeth, but a dissolution of that Society, and reducing it again into so many singles or personal independencies? And this is the mischievous consequence of liberty, misunderstood, and challenged in the wrong place. I beseech God to make those sensible of it, that are concerned in the mistake, of whom I hope, and for whom I heartily wish the best; that they may see, we mean not any thing against the truth, but for the truth, nor to enthral their minds, but to adorn their conversation, and that of the whole Society: And that what we plead for, does not subject their consciences, but their conveniences only to the general good, which every private person of course delivers up to the benefit of society, whenever he joins himself to it; and has what is better, in the room of it, the sweetness of civil or Christian fellowship. For if he serves others, which he was not equally obliged to before, he is also served of others, that formerly owed him no obligation: For the rest, it is a good life, which is a duty incumbent; and so no tyranny in society to require it, and censure the contrary. See then the upshot, pray, of this whole matter; conscience is God's, therefore not ours to give, nor any man's of society to take or usurp: conveniences are ours, and those we submit to the benefit of society, when we enter into it, for the advantages we receive from it. And a just and sober life is a general duty; and therefore is not only no error in the church to expect from every member, but a duty in her to look after: as it is her particular interest to see, that we walk faithfully up to the special principles of communion; and wherein we are deficient, she may exhort, and if refractory, rebuke; and if incorrigible, censure, according to Christ's* rule and command in that case long ago provided.

* Matt. xviii. 17.

I know, it is objected, that most of those methods of proceeding, that are amongst us, as a religious Society, came first from one or other of the brethren, and had not a formal settlement. But with all humility let me answer, that first, if it were so, they were elders and fathers, that were approved through many trials, and worthy of double honour. Next, they were such, as at the first we received gladly; and we could even have plucked out our eyes to have shown our true value and great affection for them, as those of old exprest for Paul: and if we received joyfully the greater things, that concern our salvation, through their ministry, are they unworthy or unfit to convey and communicate in the love of God, good and wholesome advice about the outward things of our fellowship?

But, besides all that might be said upon this head, to render our compliance reasonable or Christian, it is plain, that the church of God, gathered by the ministration of his spirit through his servants, hath almost universally received, and with comfort and godly profit practised that good order so recommended unto them by divers elders and brethren; particularly our ever-honourable elder brother, *George Fox*, that faithful minister of our Lord Jesus Christ, and eminent apostle of our time and day, whom the Lord sent forth with a testimony of the true light within, enlightening every man that cometh into the world, and that in great dread and authority, who proved a fruitful branch, yielding much fruit to him that had called him; living to see many thousands gathered to and settled in that testimony. He preached the light by word and writing; he walked in the light, and suffered for it, and departed in it; in which he lives and reigns for ever! And whoever reads those papers he writ to the church of God in reference to these things, will find, he uses very sparingly his authority of eldership; and whatever he might have said, that he hath said nothing, which did not consist with the most exemplary sweetness and

humility, far short of that power the apostle * Paul used to the Corinthians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, and Timothy, wherein, as well as in divers other places, he commands and charges them over and over, as well in matters of order relating to the well-governing of their Christian Society, as matters of faith and worship. And no wonder; for he that had allowedly enjoined the greater, needed no earthly dispensation to require the lesser. So that I must beseech such as are dissatisfied, to look into the way of God's spirit in all dispensations, more especially that of the primitive church, and compare them with the testimony of God's servants in our dispensation, and weigh, in the spirit of love and meekness, with a good understanding, the treatise we are now upon (and another in defence of it) in the following volume, with the liberty I have taken in a preface upon this occasion, to open myself unto them for their better understanding and satisfaction, as to the nature of those things, and of that power, which they take offence at; and the mind and end of their friends that recommended, and so generally practise them. O that a divine sense and savour may fall upon them, and that the ancient kindness may spring! For if love can cover real faults, surely it can overcome imaginary ones, and restore those that have misapprehended persons or things, to the ancient, blessed unity they once enjoyed. Here it is, that deep saying of the apostle may be applied: †'To the pure all things are pure.' Read this discourse of the 'Anarchy of the Ranters,' with such a mind, and what is pure, will appear so to the right mind; for that is the pure mind, blessed are they that have it. A ‡right spirit was, what David prayed for, as well as a clean heart. Consider first: if ever God varied his dispensations in the life time of them, that were his chiefest instruments in them? Secondly, if he ever suffered them to fall away from

* 1 Cor. vi. to xiii. xi. 16. xiv. 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15. Phil. iii. 17. Col. iv. 10. 1 Thess. iv. 1, 2. 2 Thess. ii. 13. iii. 4. 6, 7. 12. 1 Tim. i. 6. xxi. 2 Tim. ii. 14, 15. iv. 1, 2. † Tit. i. 15. ‡ Psal. li. 10.

them? Thirdly, if some gathered by them, have not turned against them under such pretence, or because their exercise of power or rule in the church? Fourthly, if such have not often come to naught, and been manifested in time to the world, and at last gone visibly, in some degree, back into the world; and so proved, that they have gone out from those sons of the morning, because they were not of them, as *John writes. Therefore let all that be concerned, hear, and fear, and beware; remembering who smote at Moses, and who grieved Paul, and who it was that John says, †prated against him and the brethren, in his Third Epistle, such as insinuated, they took too much upon them; but were themselves found out of their places. And let us all remember, that if obedience be supposed to live near to bondage, so does liberty to licentiousness: and that both obedience and liberty are excellent in their proper places, and make a due and preserving temper to one another in civil and religious bodies; as doth the balance of elements to all bodies natural. The fear and love of God dwell richly among us, that brings to and keeps in the most precious unity!

Our author's seventh discourse in order of place, (because of the same subject, and wrote in defence of it,) but not in order of time, is called *A Vindication of the Book*, entitled, *The Anarchy of the Ranters, &c., Refuted.* It was writ in the year 1679, drawn from the author to clear his former discourse from the mistakes and scruples of such as did not understand it, or seemed however offended both with him and it. It is dedicated to the communion in general he was of; written with a serious and clear mind, and love to those that were his opposers.

I am now come to his elaborate *Apology*, published in 1675, entitled, *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as the same is held forth and preached by the people called in scorn Quakers, &c. Dedicated to king Charles the Second.* It was the most comprehensive of

* 1 Joh. ii. 19. † 3 Joh. v. 10.

all his pieces, published in Latin, Dutch and English, and at least twice printed in our own tongue. It came out at the close of a long and sharp engagement between us of this kingdom, and a confederacy of adversaries of almost all persuasions. It was his happiness both to live in a more retired corner, and to enjoy at that time a space of quiet above his brethren; which, with the consideration of their three or four years' toil, and a sense of service in himself, put him upon undertaking and publishing this discourse, as an essay towards the prevention of future controversy. It first lays down our avowed principles of belief and practice, distinguished from what our enemies are pleased to say in our names, who, by making us erroneous, give themselves the easier task to confute us, and then triumph. After he has stated our principles, he has put the objections, which he had collected out of our adversaries' books, or that he did apprehend might be made to those principles, and answers them. And lastly, cites divers authors, both ancient and modern, especially some of the primitive ages, for further illustration and confirmation of our said belief and practice.

The method and style of the book may be somewhat singular, and like a scholar; for we make that sort of learning no part of our divine science. But that was not to show himself; but out of his tenderness to scholars, and as far as the simplicity and purity of the truth would permit, in condescension to their education and way of treating of those points herein handled; observing the apostle's example of becoming all unto all (where there was nothing in himself to forbid it) that we might win some. In fine, the book says so much for us and itself too, that I need say the less; but recommend it to thy serious perusal, reader, as that which may be instrumental with God's blessing, to inform thy understanding, confirm thy belief, and comfort thy mind about the excellent things of God's kingdom. To be sure, thou wilt meet with the abused and disguised Quaker in his own shape, complexion and pro-

per dress; so that if thou art not one of them, thou needest not longer follow common fame or prejudice against a people, though afflicted from the first, yet not forsaken to this day: ever blessed be the name of the most high God, for he is good, for his mercy endures for ever!

A dispute follows this apology, and in the same year: It is entitled, *a Dispute between some Students of Divinity (so called) of Aberdeen, and the people called Quakers, held in Aberdeen, &c. opponents or students, Joh. Lesly, Al. Sheriff, P. Gellie: defendants, our author, R. Barclay, and George Keith,* (who is a very learned man,) and they both behaved themselves in meekness and Christianity, the success I leave the reader to observe: only this I must say to him, it ended in the convincement of divers students of our principles.

The next year produced the tenth treatise of this volume, being 1676. It is called *Quakerism Confirmed: a Vindication of the chief Doctrines and Principles of the Quakers, from the objections of the Students of Divinity (so called) of Aberdeen, in their book called Quakerism Canvassed.* This we see is controversial, and therefore I will say the less; only the reader must needs observe the anger and prejudice, that followed the good success of the last dispute, and to what a pitch they carry men, when pride or interest hath kindled them. It was well prayed of David indeed, 'create in me a clean heart and renew a right spirit within me;' for a right frame of spirit will govern the will and affections, keep from mistakes and hurtful transports; yea, a man of conversation may want it sometimes, and be in danger of disorder. This discerns, this judges, this directs: blessed is the man that possesses it; he will not judge before his time, nor judge wrongly: nor be partial, nor peevish, nor unstable: which had those students known, they would not have resisted the lowly truth, and so unlearnedly wrested the words of it: and it would have been a better tutor of divinity to them, than all the colleges in the world can yield. O ye students and

professors of divinity! Seek God where he may be found, in Christ, and Christ in you by his light and spirit: Look not out, for the kingdom is there, within you; read plain Scripture: In that* seed, talent and leaven it lies virtually, though as yet not actively. Your obedience to the holy manifestations of it in yourselves will open its power to you; and if you follow on to know, through obeying, you shall have the end of that blessed prayer, 'thy kingdom come, thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven.' Spend not your time in vain, your precious, your most precious time! Let me, a stranger, but a well wishing one, beseech you not to strain your brains, break your rest, and wander far, and gather nothing but empty notions; husks indeed. Alas! what do you overcome? What do you enjoy by them? One day in the courts of God is more worth than it all; which obedience to the light of Christ in your hearts brings you to: and there you will hear, see and taste of divine things; to which your studies are but as bread in a picture to real bread. Then will your souls live, and you will have the key of holy Scripture, and know the meaning of the holy men, and the spirit by which they spake and writ (which are enigmas to the world) and that without the help of your costly and tedious commentators, who for the most part do but write by guess themselves. Then will you possess the treasures of the holy ancients, and know, what the blessings of the everlasting hills mean. This is nectar and ambrosia indeed, the river of God! and here is the Olympus of the sons of light, the Mount Zion of David's seed, the true Jews, where the morning stars are seen, and heard to sing together for joy!—But I must stop; I thought not of this flight of soul to Aberdeen: but God put it into my heart thus to visit you in particular, the chief place of our author's labour of love; and methinks, I hope and feel, that it shall not be in vain, nor this remembrance of you, O students and inhabitants of that city and university!

* Luke xvii. 20.

This holy spirit of love, that filled my pen in the last paragraph, has seasoned me for this following piece, writ in the year 1677, and honoured with the best of titles, viz. *Universal Love*, &c. The occasion of it, to prevent the abuse of it on one hand, and recommend the use and practice of it on the other hand. There are two great extremes this discourse observes, and moderates in the spirit of love and wisdom. Those that suffer their zeal to flame so inordinately, as to burn up all appearances of love and tenderness to those, that are not of the same judgment and interest; which is a most pernicious work of Satan, that common enemy of mankind, that turns the zeal of man upon his fellow creature, that ought to be turned against him only, the father of wickedness. Nor is this done without great subtilty; for he transforms himself into an angelical appearance to compass it: it must be all called a zeal for the house of God; which if it only ate up those that had it, would be less mischievous to the world; but it eats up other folks, breaks society, violates relation, invades property, robs God, and destroys man, a fire of hell, not of heaven, (for truly and excellently speaking, that is love). This spirit destroys instead of informing: Christ's spirit entreats, informs, and finally saves both body and soul. People tinctured with this religious (or rather irreligious) venom, are the worse for their religion; their natures are more soured, their dispositions more testy; less bowels, less humility, a worse neighbour: the good Samaritan is of more worth than a whole synagogue of them. Reader, beware of this leaven of the circumcision, the Pharisee, the spiteful formalist, that vext Paul every where, and were the great enemies and sticklers against the truth in power and life: their generation is yet living, and sown too much about the world, and seem to be the lords of it. But for all their wisdom and power, and the fair show they make in the flesh, some after one fashion, and some after another, know, reader, that great is the truth,

and it shall prevail: the * Lamb shall have the victory, who is the light; and in the despised light of the Lamb must the nations of them that are saved, walk.

The other extreme is quite the contrary, as all extremes are, but not so hurtful to the concerns of this life, though perhaps not less pernicious to the inward man, and in which Satan acts a part for the most part out of sight, by which he craftily deceives and ensnares some, that are simple hearted, and commendable livers, viz. loving all equally without due distinction, whatever their persuasions be; and standing loose of all as to a formal communion, yet by their latitude are (in a sort) of all, and entitle themselves both by their indifferency and their love, to an interest in them all, and all to an interest in them. Our author is weighty upon this head; he shows, what love is, its excellency in its root and fruit; what distinctions and limitations true love observes; and what people and principles now extant in the world, have the rightfullest claim to this universal love, from their universality and gentleness: to which I recommend the reader; taking this along with him, that true love from man springs from God's love to man. They that have tasted of God's goodness, and have had their own hearts softened by it, have an extraordinary tenderness to mankind: it is a most engaging virtue; it covers, forgives, excuses, conquers all; nothing can stand before it. They that have known the power of it, feel all people's infirmities, and sympathise with every one's condition: they hate nothing but sin; they love all, can help and serve all, but especially the household of faith.

But it is speculating this love too far, to love all alike, as these Universalists tell us: for in nature people do love their parents, brethren, husbands, wives and children better than others; and we cannot but love the religious family we are of, more, because we feel them nearer to us, than another. But this, it may be, will

* Rev. xxi.

not be denied in a sort; but then the proper sense is somewhat equivocated, viz. 'I find,' says one, 'the family of God every where in every form and sect, and that is my church, which I love; and for that reason I love every society, and can communicate, as I see cause, with every one of them.' It is certain, we ought to see and love the good in all, and so far as virtue shines in any person, whatever is their persuasion, so far there is a loveliness; it is comely, and of good report: and though of a very differing apprehension, as to revealed and traditional points of religion, yet they are to be loved; nay, * enemies, such as are injurious to us in the highest degree: but all this is with a grain of salt, under restriction, and with due bounds. For I am not obliged to turn Jew, Turk, or Indian, because I honour their virtue, and love their persons, as fellow creatures: nor am I bound to love an enemy with the same degree of love I have for one that is my friend, benefactor or relation. To worship God with those, that, though sober and upright among men, worship him in ways, my conscience tells me are below, if not contrary to the nature of God, his revealed will, and my own sense of duty and worship, is an extreme, that makes all ways of worship indifferent, and in consequence impeaches the dispensations of God, that have been to carry men farther, and † to leave and forget those things that are behind: yea, it causes the offence of the cross of God's day and dispensation to cease, especially in trying and suffering times; and opens a door to a dangerous temporizing. ‡ Paul according to this doctrine was much in the wrong, that he reproved Peter for his complacency with the Jews: and, indeed, our Saviour and his apostles will not escape blameless for changing that constitution, if it were lawful for them to continue to worship God in the Jewish manner. Nor did the primitive Christians well to be devoured by wild beasts, if they might have been permitted to symbolize with the Heathen: for it is certain,

* Phil. iv. 8. Heb. vi. 1, 2. Matt. v. 24. † Phil. iii. 13. ‡ Gal. ii. 11, 12. 14.

there were many extraordinary Gentiles, the followers of Plato, Zeno, Seneca, Epictetus, Plutarch, Marc. Aurelius Antonius, &c. in those times, that have left the just fame of virtue to their names by their sober lives and rare writings.

I may converse kindly, but I cannot worship with one I differ from, even about that very way of worship; and if this be a fault, we must impeach our Protestant ancestors too. But on the other hand I must be careful, I suffer not myself to be carried beyond bounds in dissent neither. The difference must never run so far, as to beget a dislike, and much less an aversion of spirit to his person or conversation that I differ from; this were sinful, yet, alas! too common, and it may be, an hard task to conquer, and a true mark of discipleship in all that overcome it. God Almighty root out and expel that make-bate-spirit among men; that where there is not an unity (for that comes up to faith and worship) we may exercise true charity and forbearance, especially, where there is any sincere appearance of the common faith, and the fruits of a * fear towards God in general. But as God has appeared at sundry times, and in divers manners, since the world began, so it was the way of his spirit and method of his providence to gather up the sincere-minded into one, as so many grains do form one lump; and therefore the apostle to the Corinthians calls the believers † one bread, unto which, as a standard, others were to be gathered, and upon which as a foundation (of which Christ the word was the corner-stone) succeeding believers were to be built. And I challenge all the disaffected societies and forms without distinction, or these Universalists I am upon, to show any other manner of God's appearing to men in any age, or that in the same age, or by the primitive or first instruments of such appearance, there was a change of dispensation, or a justifiable declension, from what they testified of, and were the instruments to gather and settle people in? So that

* Tit. i. 4. Heb. i. 1, 2. † 1 Cor. x. 17.

(to conclude) universal love is a blessed truth, but with the degrees, limitations, and distinctions, that the Spirit of God sets and gives us, whose *fruit it is, and unto which we shall do well to take heed, that we at all times love truly and rightly, not too little nor too much, but consider the object and motive of our love, and we cannot fail in that great duty of love to all.

This treatise of *Universal Love* is followed by another, styled, *An Epistle of Love*, published at the end of the same year; writ and sent by our author, as 'A friendly advice to the ambassadors of the several princes of Europe, met at Nemmegen to consult of the peace of Christendom; showing the true cause of war, and proposing the best means of peace;' to each of whom also was given one of his 'Apologies,' which were all received with respect. This epistle has edification in it to our present times. The original cause of war is not hard to assign; the apostle James has told it us long ago. He asks and answers the question thus: †'From whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not hence, even from your lusts, that war in your members?' It is, what every one feels in himself, that has not overcome those lusts, or whose consciences are not seared with an hot iron; though it is also, what very few make their due reflections upon; else we should hear of less blood and misery. But if lust be the ground of war, what is become of the doctrine of Christianity among those supposed Christians? And what are they, that show a pleasure in the accounts of the bloodiest battles? Can a Christian of Christ's making look upon the blood of men, or hear of it without horror and distress of spirit? Less surely can they shed it, or encourage those, that have a delight or part in that man-slaying work. But how low and grossly are some professed Christians fallen from the nature of true religion, and the purity and power of the ‡faith, that was once delivered to the saints, and through sufferings by them to us, that hang their religion and

* Gal. v. 22. † Jam. iv. 1. ‡ Jud. iii.

gospel upon their swords and guns, and pin it upon an arm of flesh; as if the gospel could be overcome of that which cannot touch it.

But how, I pray, did the primitive Christians maintain their ground, yea, grow upon their adversaries, (poor, naked men, and not of the greatest quality or capacity,) and finally vanquish cruelty itself, but by *faith and patience? Thus they converted executioners, overcame emperors and armies, and, by a successive course of meek and suffering integrity, turned the edge of the sword, quenched the flames of fire with their own blood, not the blood of their enemies: and, finally, this holy constancy translated them from the theatre of slaughter to the palaces and diadems of princes. This brings to my remembrance a passage our author has in this book, to this effect: 'That there is nothing a greater tarnish and withering to the Protestant cause, than the professors of it betaking themselves, and that early, to earthly powers and weapons to preserve and promote it;' which are not the weapons of the apostolical warfare, and inconsistent with the nature, power and glory of Christ's kingdom. For the preservation of the Protestant religion stands in a spirit of true reformation as well in life as doctrine, as plainly decayed, if not lost; and it is to be feared for that reason, that God will blow upon all other ways of supporting it, especially such, as we thought a fault in our enemies in worldly arts and force. If we would be zealous to purpose for the Protestant cause, let us look to God, and not man: †examine ourselves, try ourselves, see what is wanting in us both to God and man. Let us return home, light our own candle, and sweep our own house, and we shall find the silver we have lost; the zeal, power, and purity of soul that make our worship acceptable, our prayers prevalent, our lives blameless and an ornament to religion. This faith, this holiness, this reformation is the cause of God; and the rest is our own, though we gild the pill, flatter ourselves, and

* Heb. xi. 33—42. † 2 Cor. xiii. 5. Luke, xv. 8, 9.

deceive others. This spirit of reformation knows no man, no people, no church after the flesh. This goes on overturning, overturning all will-worship, man-made faiths, human inventions, and traditions of men about religion, till he reigns in the soul, whose right it is to rule. It is an holy * leaven, O reader, that leavens the whole lump into its own nature, and makes fallen, degenerate, earthly minded man, that receives it, a partaker of the divine nature. This the earliest and purest Protestants aimed at, that had their eye to an eternal country, the city whose builder and maker is God, free of human considerations, and the mixture of worldly interests and advantages. And to evidence the truth of what I say, read the accounts that the faithfullest writers of those times have obliged us with, and you shall taste the same thing even among the martyrs themselves, where the country and mechanical people, those of the least account, outdo those of title, learning and preferment among churchmen themselves, as to the life and purity of reformation and zeal, and courage for it, as occasion offered to show both.

Wherefore, O ye Protestants of all sorts, return, return, †return to your first love, and works, before it be too late: 'Rend your hearts, and not your garments, and turn to the Lord your God.' You have but a little time, and a great account to give. Think not to be long safe from your enemies without, while you entertain your greatest enemy within in despite of God, his spirit and scripture, and your own pretensions to reformation. While you have so many sins on your enemy's side to fight against you, they will ever have power to vex you, if not to destroy you. And if in some evils your enemies exceed, yet in moral ones you are not a jot behind them; and remember, they have their beads, but you have your Bibles in your hands, when you transgress. God Almighty make you sensible with ‡true and godly sorrow, a repentance never

* Mat. xiii. 33. 2 Pet. i. 4. Heb. xi. † Hos. xii. 6. Rev. ii. 5. Joel, iv. Zach. i. 3. ‡ 1 Cor. vii. 9, 10.

to be repented of; that you may overcome your enemies by your faith, prayers, and love, and by the power of your example recommend your religion, and lead them out of error and blindness. Do not charge them, and do worse; for verily, that will undo you in the end. O that God would rend the heavens, and come down in showers of love, and quench the flames, that every where devour his creation! That it would please him to still the furious winds, and calm the raging seas, and remove that enmity, which is the ground of all; and bring the nations under his own heavenly government, where there is no need to *learn war against one another any more: that they that have erred in spirit, may come to understanding; and those that have murmured, may learn doctrine, even the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is a doctrine of love, meekness, mercy, forbearance; a doctrine of self-denial, humility, and holiness; a doctrine that reconciles us to God, and one to another. And no man can have the benefit of the first, that hates his brother, and less, that kills him for the love of this world.

O it is a crying sin with God, a strong judgment upon us, and a sure token both of more and nearer calamities, that we are so hard-hearted and insensible of it! Nay, it looks as if we were not to be moved, unless God himself would appear in the air, and send fire down to consume all before our eyes, and ourselves in the conclusion of the tragedy. Is not the †wrath of God (do we think) revealed sufficiently against us in the faction, strife, war, blood, and poverty, that we see almost all over Europe this day? God Almighty make people sensible and weary of it, and the cause of it, their sins; sins against light, against conscience, and knowledge; their unfaithfulness to God and man; their scandalous immorality, and most inordinate love of the world, the ground of all contention and mischief: that so the peace of God, which passeth worldly men's

* Isa. ii. 4. Isa. xxix. 29. Mat. v. 43, 47. xviii. 21, 22. Rom. xii. 18.
† Rom. i. 18. Gal. v. 19, 23.

understanding, may fill all our hearts through repentance and conversion! Amen.

I have been the longer in my notes upon this occasion than I expected; but our present condition in Europe drew it from me, that needs an olive branch, the doctrine of peace, as much as ever.

Our author's next treatise was published 1679, being *A Vindication of his notable Apology for the Christian Divinity profest by the people called Quakers;* in reply to the exceptions made against it by one John Brown, in his book, called *Quakerism the pathway to Paganism.* In which Vindication the reader will find the truth sifted from all the dirt and rubbish, with which her malicious or ignorant adversaries have endeavoured to sully her beauty, and disfigure and bury her out of the sight and knowledge of the people: the Defence being, like the Apology, performed with much labour and exactness, and so fully and plainly, that it leaves (one would think) no room for objection with the serious and moderate inquirer. I do justly esteem his *Apology* and this *Vindication* in the front of his polemical works: though I cannot but every where prefer those labours in him and others, that have least to do with controversy, and whose main and immediate scope is the engaging of the soul into the love of holiness, the end of true religion; for it leads into the blessed communion of the Father, and of the Son, and gives the possession of those comforts and refreshments, that no tongue can express, nor soul by any other means enjoy:* for without holiness (it is determined) no man shall see the Lord, that is, with peace. Yet controversy handled in the fear of God, and in the openings of his light and spirit, that is ever present and sufficient to the help of his people in all their services, has also its edification, especially, where an earnest and tender desire to inform the mistaken, prevails above private interest, or any party, or personal consideration; for God will witness to such labours, and follow them with his blessing:

* Heb. xii. 14.

with which, I beseech him, to crown our beloved friend's services in this and all other respects, that tend to the exaltation of his glorious truth.

The last tract our author left us, (and which is the conclusion of this volume and preface,) was writ and published 1676, and is entitled, *The possibility and necessity of the inward and immediate revelation of the Spirit of God towards the foundation and ground of true faith*, proved in a letter writ in Latin to a person of quality in Holland; and now also put into English. The person, to whom it was writ, was a learned man, especially in the new philosophy; very free and friendly, but not fool enough to resign to this doctrine as entirely as he ought; yet, I believe, better reconciled to it before he died.

As the revelation of sin, righteousness and judgment, of mercy, and consolation, what to avoid, what to repent of, what to desire, what to do, and where to wait for power to avoid and do, as we are thereby directed, is the revelation chiefly insisted upon by us; so those that come to answer the love and mercy of God in the first part of this revelation, viz. the sight of sin, shall know the aboundings of it from day to day; and from the evidence and authority of their own experience shall be enabled, nay, constrained to pronounce this testimony of the revelation maintained by the people called Quakers, 'tis true and according to Scripture. I might advance divers arguments from the nature of God and the soul of man, and from what may be, as well as what has been, the truth of this revelation; but that being done by our author in this small treatise in an abstract and proper manner, I chose rather to speak spiritually and experimentally: and whoever is lowly and poor enough in spirit to try the truth of what I say, shall comprehend with all saints the height, and depth, and length, and breadth of the love of God in Christ, to the souls of men by the revelation of that true light, and spirit and grace I have testified of in this preface; and which the wisest of the men of this world can at best have but a shadow and idea of. Remember, life is

more than food, and the body than raiment; so is bread better than husks, substance than shadow, realities than imaginations of them; which is the best of their case, that come not through the obedience of the truth and discipline of Christ's cross to enjoy them.

Reader, it is a most important point of the first consideration to men, without it no knowledge of God, nor of Christ, that * reveals God; and without that knowledge no salvation for the souls of men. So that this volume ends with that, which all men must begin with, if they will ever truly know God, and possess eternal life, viz. Revelation: now some will say, revelation, why, we have it: have we not the Scriptures? Do you pretend to another revelation? No, not another truth than is therein mentioned. But this, reader, will not do. I must ask questions too: What is revealed to thee by them? Thou readest of God, of Christ, of his Spirit, and hast framed an image or idea of them in thy mind, but is that revelation? Revelation in religion is knowledge, experience, thy own sight and sense, that of which thou art a witness. Mind me, I beseech thee: regeneration is the great work of religion; yea, religion, true Christian religion, is regeneration, as I before hinted, for it is the very end of Christ's coming; we cannot be saved without it: nay, it is called that very salvation. Hear the apostle: †'But after the kindness and love of God our Saviour appeared, not by works of righteousness, which we have done, but according to his mercy, he *saved us by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost*, which he shed on us abundantly, through Jesus Christ, our Saviour.' Now, so far is God revealed to thee, and art thou truly religious, as thou art born again, washed and renewed by the regenerating spirit of God, and no further. If the Scripture were all the revelation needful, the wicked Jews must have known it, as well as the believing Jews, because they could read them, and had as good, or

* Mat. xi. 27. John xvii. 3. † Tit. iii. 4, 5, 6.

better natural capacities to take the grammatical and literal sense of what they deliver: But they were so far from understanding Christ and his doctrine, though he did wonders, and spake as we read, among them, that Christ both tells us they were blind, and solemnly *'thanks his Father, that he had hid those secrets from the wise and prudent (of that day), and revealed them unto babes. And to this Christ himself beareth testimony, when he saith that †'No man knoweth the Father, but the Son, and he to whom the Son revealeth him:' and, as the Son reveals the Father, so the Father must bear witness, reveal and draw to the Son, or men cannot come to him that opens and reveals the Father.

Thus, in that notable saying of Christ to Peter, when asking him, 'but who sayest thou that I am?' and he answering, 'thou art Christ, the Son of the living God,' he replied unto him, ‡'Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona, flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father, which is in heaven.' So that, though Peter both heard and saw abundance of what Christ said and did, it was needful to such a confession, that God should give a further revelation of his Son. And, if Peter wanted (under all the advantages he had above us) this revelation, can we hope to know him without it? O no, reader! as he knew him, thou must know him. For ‖'none cometh to the Son, but whom the Father draweth:' O mind these drawings in thy own soul! And how does the Father draw? Few, alas! trouble themselves to weigh these matters; and yet they must be Christians for all that. But what say the schools, the critics, and learned upon these things? Why, they search their books, study and beat their brains, and imagine the meaning. Some say, it is by the Scripture; but that won't do, for that says no such thing: on the contrary, that the Father reveals the Son, and draws to him, and the Son reveals the Father; and

* Matt. xi. 25. † Luke x. 22. John v. 37. ‡ Matt. xvi. 17. ‖ John vi. 44.

not the Scripture, that tells us so, which is neither the Father nor the Son. Nor, indeed, is it comprehensible, how the Father should reveal the Son by Scripture, and the Son the Father; for so the Scripture would reveal both, which is the reciprocal work of the Father and Son. And were it so, Caiaphas would have known Christ, as well as Peter; and the wicked would know both the Father and the Son, as well as the good, because the Scriptures are as much in their power; which is absurd and impossible. But others, more refined, say it is by the Spirit opening the Scriptures; as, indeed, the first reformers, and all those that have been pushing on a further reformation, ever since have spoken; and have founded their belief of the divine authority of the Scriptures, upon the testimony and revelation of the Spirit in them: these come near. But, then, what is this Spirit? How dost thou know it, its manifestations, revelations, and operations? And by what tokens is it to be known and discerned? This is a question not to be answered but by an experienced man: for the Spirit of God reveals not the deep things of God to the carnal and disobedient man. Many are the degrees, steps and lessons of this holy Spirit of God in and to man, as man receives it, and obeys it, and daily inclines to learn the lesson it teaches. I may tell thee, reader, and I am not far from the matter, that this great work is, as mechanics and chemists speak, a manual operation, a spiritual labour and travel. *'Work out your own salvation,' saith the apostle, 'with fear and trembling.' By whom? By him 'by whom all things were made of old, and that maketh all things new, even Christ the Word, in whom is life, and that life is the light of men.'

It is this sort of revelation we contend for, not that of particular persons or things, past or to come, which refer not immediately to the knowledge and work of God in man, by which God makes himself savingly

* Phil. ii. 12, 13. John i. 3, 4.

known to men. That private or particular sort of revelation is, however, called a revelation also; as the visions of the prophets, Peter's sense of the hypocrisy of Ananias and Sapphira, and Agabus's foresight by the Holy Ghost of Paul's sufferings at Jerusalem: This sort of extraordinary knowledge is truly called revelation. But this is not the revelation we insist upon; though neither is this ceased. Nor yet is it those doctrines, as of the incarnation of the Son of God, his death, resurrection and ascension, &c. confirmed and enforced upon the belief of men, by the authority of miracles, which is also another sort of revelation; which, being once done, need not to be repeated, and of which the wicked are as much possessors as the good: the matter of fact, I mean, of the visible transaction of the Son of God, being recorded in the Scriptures of truth, which they also have in their hands. But the inward sight, sense and knowledge of the will of God by the operation of his light and spirit shining and working in our hearts, and the spiritual sense of that blessed appearance of the Son of God in the flesh, and the moral end of it to our benefit and advantage, is no more conceivable by carnal men, than is regeneration, without which *'no man can enter into the kingdom of God.' Christ tells us there is such a thing, and the two principles of it, water and spirit; but he does not tell us what they are, how to be obtained, what way they operate, or how we are to apply them, or ourselves to them for that new birth. No, this is reserved a secret, to be unfolded to the children of obedience.

O reader! †great is the mystery of godliness! and if the apostle said it of the manifestation of the Son of God in the flesh, if that be a mystery, (and if a mystery, it is not to be spelt out but by the revelation of the Spirit,) how much more is the work of regeneration a mystery, that is wholly inward and spiritual in its

* John iii. 5. † 1 Tim. iii. 16.

operation? Who is sufficient for these things? What doctor? What philosopher? What sort of divine? Surely none, but one of God's making alone, that has past through the degrees of regeneration, which is the experimental, operative revelation of the Spirit of God in man. And this revelation is a fruit of his omnipresence: he is ever * present, his eye beholds the evil and the good; but in a particular manner is over them that fear him, and trust in his mercy. Yea, his eyes are upon the righteous, he searches the heart, and tries the reins, and sets man's thoughts in order before him. This David knew, when he cried out, 'Whither shall I go from thy Spirit? Or whither shall I flee from thy presence?' And why? But because he is present as a reprover, an helper, a comforter and Saviour: which also made the same royal penitent and prophet in his fifty-first Psalm pray † 'Cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy Holy Spirit from me.' This also made him a preacher to others: for if God would but hear his prayer, and restore to him the joy of his salvation, and uphold him by his free spirit, he would teach transgressors his ways, and sinners should be converted unto God: which comes up to all I have said upon this head, that the way to be a child of God, and minister of his truth, is the inward experience of the revelation of the spirit and power of God in the soul, without which David could not open his mouth for God. He elsewhere tells us, how near God is to his people: the meek will he guide: the secrets of the Lord are with them that fear him: ‡ 'The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart; and saveth such as are of a contrite spirit.' He calls them to taste and see, how good the Lord is to them that fear him: this was revelation with a witness; no less than two of the spiritual senses of the soul at once. And though fa-

* Prov. xv. 3. Psal. xxxiii. 18. 1 Chr. xxviii. 9. Psal. vii. 9. cxxxix. 1. 9. Prov. xvii. 10. xx. 12. Ps. cxxxix. 7. † Psal. li. 11, 12, 13. ‡ Ps. xxv. 9, 14. Ps. xxxiv. 9. 18. Ps. xxxiv. 8. Ps. xxvii. 10. 11.

ther and mother forsake him, God would take him up; whom he prayed to teach him and lead him in a plain path: and in the sense of God's inward goodness to his soul, in this way of revelation and omnipresency, he triumphs thus: * 'Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for thou art with me, thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.' Indeed his whole Book of Psalms is a continued evidence of that revelation we plead for, and he cried, he waited for, and he enjoyed; who grew so well acquainted with the presence of God, that he could tell us, that in his † presence was life, and at his right hand were pleasures for ever more.

Nor is this to be wondered at by the professors of Christianity, since it is the covenant God made of old: to which the prophet Jeremiah gives testimony, ‡ 'That he would put his law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and he would be their God, and they should be his people——and know him from the least to the greatest.' To which the apostle refers in his epistle to the Hebrews, as fulfilled in the Christian dispensation then on foot: so Joel of the pouring out of the Spirit upon all flesh, applied by Peter on the day of Pentecost. And Paul to the Corinthians goes yet further, and tells them, that God (in these latter days) will dwell in them, and walk in them; and therefore commands them not to touch the unclean thing. Now, if all this can be without revelation, inspiration, divine vision and sensation in the soul, we may conclude, we do not hear, see, feel, taste and smell, what we do hear, see, feel, taste and smell every day. I forbear many scriptures, as, 'I in them, and they in me: he that is with you, shall be in you: I am with you to the end of the world;' and that notable saying of the apostle, § 'When it pleased God to reveal his Son in me, I consulted not with flesh and blood:' he grounds his call,

* Psal. xxiii. 4. † Psal. xvi. 11. ‡ Jer. xxxi. 31-34. Heb. viii. 9, 10. Joel ii. 28, 29. Act ii. 16-13. 2 Cor. vi. 16, 17. § Gal. i. 16.

conversion and ministry upon it; and can we hope now for a true and saving knowledge or ministry without it? By no means.

But our author in this, as much as in any of his tracts, acts the scholar, and has not chosen this way of arguing; having to do with a learned man, that he esteemed, and would be entertained in a more abstract way of arguing: which made me the freer to express myself, in this manner, for their sakes, that easily submit their arguments to scripture authority, and that hunger and thirst after an inward enjoyment of that of which so many glorious things are said by the holy men of God in Scripture; that they may be freed of objections, and savour the clear and divine truth of this doctrine: that they may know the wells are opened now, as well as formerly. And that *'rivers of living water flow out of the bellies of true believers now as well as then;' which Christ spake of, meaning the Spirit, that should flow in and out of those that believed in him. And, reader, if thou wilt be a witness hereof, †'despise not the day of small things;' embrace the talent that is given thee, follow the reproofs and teachings of it, wait upon it for power to enable thee to overcome what it condemns: and if thou wilt abstract thyself from the world, and the distracting impressions and ideas of it, into a true silence or inactivity, and quietness of mind, believe me, thou wilt find the heavenly potter will mould and form his clay, and work in thee mightily to will and to do: for before life is death, and before an active a passive life. Remember these things; and Almighty God give thee an experimental understanding of them to his glory, and thy comfort here and for ever!

Thus, reader, am I come to the end of this preface, and thou to the beginning of this author's volume: read with consideration; be not hasty to judge, what at first may not please thee; but be ready to practise what

* Joh. vii. 37-39. † Zach. iv. 10.

thou likest: that knowledge through obedience may increase, and God, the great author of all good, through his poor instruments, may have his glory; who is worthy for ever! Amen.

According to that true and sincere love in the Lord, which we had to our dear brother, Robert Barclay, and Christian respect which lives in us to his blessed memory, and our real esteem and value of his faithful testimony, great industry and labour of love for promoting the ever living truth, as it is in Christ, in his day and time,

We, whose names are underwritten, do sincerely own, and have satisfaction and unity in truth with this foregoing Preface and relation, in the behalf of him the said Robert Barclay, and his great and memorable service, labours and travels in the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: to whom be the glory and dominion for ever!

George Whitehead,	Francis Stampet,
Patrick Livingston,	John Vaughton,
Alexander Seton,	and
Benjam. Antrobus,	John Field.

London, the 15th of the 7th month, 1691.

SEVERAL TESTIMONIES CONCERNING R. BARCLAY.

George Fox *his Testimony concerning Robert Barclay.*

A Testimony concerning our dear brother in the Lord, Robert Barclay, who was a wise and faithful minister of Christ, and writ many precious books in the defence of the truth, in English and Latin; and after translated into French and Dutch. He was a scholar, and a man of great parts, and underwent many calumnies, slanders, and reproaches, and sufferings for the name of Christ, but the Lord gave him power over them all. He travelled often up and down Scotland, and in England, and in Holland, and Germany, and did good service for the Lord; and was a man of repute among men, and preached the everlasting gospel of Christ freely, turning people from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God. And his father was a noble man for the Lord and his truth, and died in the Lord: and after, when his son Robert had fulfilled his ministry, and finished his testimony, he also died in the Lord, and is blessed and at rest, and ceased from his labours, and his works follow him. Much more might be written concerning this faithful brother in the Lord and pillar in the church of Christ, who was a man I very much, loved for his labour in the truth, but I shall leave the rest to his countrymen. And the Lord raise up more faithful labourers in Christ Jesus to stand in his place, and preserve his tender wife and children in the truth. Amen.

G. F.

The 13th of 9th mo. 1690.

A Testimony to the memory of Robert Barclay, *by his faithful friend,* William Penn.

Surprising was the news of the death of dear Robert Barclay, to me particularly, from the share I claimed in him and the esteem I had for him. But that which gave weight to my sorrow, was the loss that thereby comes to the church of God, and especially in Scotland. For his many and excellent gifts by nature,

acquisition and grace, his zeal and integrity, his labour and love so effectually shown in the time we lived, both in his ministry, writings, and other services, and that he lived no longer, who was so well fitted to live for the service and honour of the truth, and the good of God's people, must render his death more afflicting to all those that desire to be reckoned of that number. It was a complaint of old, that the righteous were taken away, and none laid it to heart: I pray God, that the taking away of this accomplished minister of Christ, in the prime of his age, with other precious and honourable brethren of late, may be laid close to heart by the Friends of God, especially where his and their service lay, and he and they have been most conversant.

The overcasting of so many bright stars, almost together, and of the first magnitude in our horizon, from our bodily view, is not the least symptom or token to me of an approaching storm, and perhaps so dreadful, that we may have fresh cause to think them happy, that are delivered from the evils and miseries that may ensue. But this also calls every one home to his own dwelling and tent, to find and feel him that repairs all losses, and supplies all wants, and is all to a faithful people, that they can need or desire.

This worthy young man of God, whose character I write, (as well for their example and encouragement, that have, or hereafter may receive the eternal truth, in which he lived and died, and lives for ever, as for a testimony to the power and goodness of God in raising him up to his church, and to his lasting memorial in the churches of Christ, which is blessed for ever,) was the son of Colonel David Barclay, descended of the Barclays of Mathers in the kingdom of Scotland, an ancient and honourable family among men, and of Catharine Gordon, from the Gordons of the house of the Duke of Gordon. He was born at Edinburgh in the year 1648; educated in France; had the advantage of that tongue, as well as the Latin. He returned to Scotland about 1664, being sixteen years of age, where, by the example and instruction of his honest and worthy father, that in his absence had received the everlasting truth, and his converse with other servants of God, he came to see and taste an excellency in it; and was convinced about the year 1667, and publicly owned the testimony of the true light, enlightening every man: And came early forth a zealous and fervent witness for it; enduring the cross, and despising the shame, that attended his discipleship: And received the gift of the ministry, as his greatest honour; in which he laboured to bring others to God, and his labour was not in vain in the Lord. He was much exercised in controversy, from the many contradictions, that fell upon the truth, and upon

him for its sake in his own country chiefly; in which he ever acquitted himself with honour to the truth; particularly by his Apology for the Christian divinity professed by the people called Quakers, which contains a collection of our principles, our enemies' objections, and our answers, augmented and illustrated closely and amply with many authorities for confirmation. Also his book of church-government, distinguishing between tyranny and anarchy, imposition and lawlessness; occasioned by the scruples of some, and partialities of others, that had a tendency to a division among us: they are standing books of sound judgment, and good service to the truth and church of God. Nor must his Scripture catechism be forgotten, in that it opens the mind of truth upon points of doctrine in the words of the Holy Ghost; excluding all human glosses or interpretation, which is an easy, safe, and peaceable method, the tendency of it being to silence and commend the curiosity of man to the text, which all own; and there leave controversy, as the best method to unity and peace, next that of the Spirit itself. And, indeed, it was exactly suitable to his own disposition, that preferred truth before victory, and peace and unity before niceties, and a good life before worldly learning.

We sometimes travelled together both in this kingdom, and in Holland, and some parts of Germany, and were inward in divers services from first to last: And the apprehension and sense I had of him, was this, he loved the truth and way of God, as revealed among us, above all the world, and was not ashamed of it before men; but bold and able in maintaining it: sound in judgment, strong in argument, cheerful in travails and sufferings! of a pleasant disposition, yet solid, plain and exemplary in his conversation. He was a learned man, a good Christian, an able minister, a dutiful son, a loving husband, a tender and careful father, an easy master, and a good and kind neighbour and friend. These eminent qualities in one, that had employed them so serviceably, and that had not lived much above half the life of a man (having out-lived his father but four years, and died at least thirty years short of his age) aggravates the loss of him, especially in that nation, where he lived.

O Friends, if precious in the eyes of the Lord be the death of his saints, ought not their labours and death to be precious to the Lord's people? Therefore I exhort those, that have survived this and other worthy and honourable brethren, to take care that their minds are not overcharged, and that they do not suffer their first love on any score to cool to those that travail and labour in the word and doctrine for their good: but that through their faithfulness they may come to partake of like precious

ministry, as well as of like precious faith; that so the great harvest, that is at the door, may be supplied with able and dilligent labourers. But more especially you of the Scotch nation, and most of all you, his near, tender and affectionate relations, wait to feel your loss made up in and by him, that giveth liberally, and upbraideth not; who is the best teacher, husband, father and master, who repairs our losses with advantage: For in him we lose nothing, that we lose, because we have it again with advantage even in this life, and fellowship, that out-lives time, and endures and abides for ever! In which the Lord preserve us all to the end of our race, that we may run it with steadfastness, and finish it with everlasting joy.

William Penn.

Patrick Livingstone *his Testimony concerning* Robert Barclay.

There is something that rests upon my spirit, to say concerning my dearly beloved friend and kinsman, Robert Barclay, who was not only my kinsman after the flesh, but of a nearer and dearer kindred, and relation of a more noble seed and offspring, which is not corruptible, but incorruptible; and my dear fellow labourer in the service of the gospel, as also my fellow sufferer for the truth, in Aberdeen prison.

And I have more in my heart concerning him, than I can express; nor do I find it meet to say all I can truly testify of him.

For I had some small knowledge of him, before he came to profess the truth; and ever since he came forth amongst us, I have had many opportunities to be refreshed with him in his doctrine, after he came to have a public testimony amongst us; and also in his conversation both before and since.

He was all along a man for peace, and an enemy to strife and dissension, but was a peace maker: I never knew him, at any time, to be in passion or anger.

He was a man of a sweet, pleasant, and cheerful temper, and above many for evenness of spirit. A man of deep reach in his judgment and understanding of heavenly things, and also of the things that concerned him to know of this life amongst men.

He was quick and ready in his understanding of matters of difference or controversy, and had a notable way of deciding and composing of them.

He was a man of a public spirit, and laboured for the public good of all, but especially of those he was in fellowship with.

Both as to the inward and outward he was a blameless man in his conversation; and he was both solid, sound, and comprehensive, in his writings.

As for his doctrine, he was plain and clear to the meanest capacity; discreet and obliging therein.

And he was a man generally beloved of all, both of great and small; unless it were those that hated him for the truth's sake, and his vindicating of it, both in word and writing, against those that opposed it; as his writings will plainly demonstrate to all impartial readers of them.

And, courteous reader, I being satisfied with many more, that he is at his rest with the Lord, and reaps the reward of his trials, travails and sufferings for the truth's sake, both inwardly and outwardly, and now is out of the reach of what envy and malice can do against him; his writings are recommended to thy serious and impartial perusal, wherein thou mayst see more of him, than at present I can say: and so I remain

A lover of truth and righteousness,

PATRICK LIVINGSTONE.

Aberdeen, the 16th day of the 1st month, 1691.

The Testimony of ANDREW JAFFRAY *concerning* ROBERT BARCLAY.

This testimony I have in my heart to give forth concerning my dear brother, who was one of the Lord's worthies, and hath obtained the crown of victory over all the rage of the enemy and his instruments, who still seek to make war with the remnant of the woman's seed, who keep the commandments of God: but they and their rage and enmity are limited, blessed be the Lord our God for ever! And the hairs of the heads of the faithful are numbered, and the angels of God pitch their tents about them, that fear him in all their troubles, and amidst all the rage and slanderous tongues of this world, that are set on fire: as this faithful and worthy servant of the Lord and his everlasting truth was a living witness of God's faithfulness and power in his preservation; who being dead (as to the body) yet speaketh and liveth, and walketh with him for ever, in whom his delight and joy was while in the body, beyond all the honours, vain pleasures and enjoyments from below.

And though the Lord had endued him with many large gifts and abilities, even as a man beyond many (as was well known) so as to be able to converse with the greatest; yet known it is to many of the upright, that his chief desire and delight was to lay out all these parts and qualifications for doing good unto all,

but especially to the household of faith: as the many great services for truth and deliverances of suffering Friends, which the Lord made him an instrument of, both in his own native country, and in other nations, can bear witness. So that I may truly say, in all his great endowments, it was his delight to make them serviceable to the true Israel of God; and his sweet savour and memorial shall live (in many of their hearts, and among all sober, discreet and moderate people, who knew him) to generations to come. And I am very bold to say, his death could not but be matter of exercise and sorrow to all.

He was a man, that laid out himself in the ability of the large understanding, given him to set forth the beauty and infallibility of the grounds and excellent principles of truth, and to open and prove the same over all opposition of gainsayers, to the reaching of the understanding of many of the great and learned of the world, both at home and abroad, and to the begetting a better opinion and judgment concerning both the principles and practices of God's people, (called in derision Quakers,) than had been held forth by the craft and malice of the priests and others to be in the beginning, as fools, madmen, &c. and holding nonsensical and unreasonable, as well as unscriptural whimsies, and so forth. But God, who is light, is wiping away the reproaches and slanders off his blessed truth and people, and will more and more exalt the standard and ensign thereof, to gather the nations unto it out of their cruelties, lusts and roarings against one another, and of the overflowing of all abominations among them, to the great provoking of God's wrath.

Reformation from all which will never be known, nor deliverance from the bondage and miseries thereby occasioned, by all the might, power and fightings of the carnal sword, nor politic devices of men; but only by the blessed power, spirit and grace of God, which hath appeared to all, to that very end to teach, to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world, if men would turn to believe in and obey it. Which is our testimony and holy principle we direct all unto; and which this blessed servant of the church laid out himself in his many excellent writings, (especially his Apology,) to promulgate through the world with blessed success not only in printing, but in travelling, having gone through a great part of Germany, Holland, and other countries, in the service of the truth: and the Lord blessed him every way therein.

He was an exemplary husband, parent and master in his family; so that the beauty, good order, holiness, gravity and lowliness of the truth shined therein, I can say, to my refreshment and many others, as in a quiet habitation.

He was a man of great meekness, sweetness, and lowliness of spirit, and of such a bearing, contented mind, that though a man of such parts, and great authority over evil in his servants and others, yet kept in such a dominion over any thing that would have disordered his own spirit, that I can truly say, I never saw him in any peevish, angry, brittle or disordered temper, since ever I knew him; though I had as much intimacy and frequency of concerns with him as most here away.

He was so far from being lifted up or exalted by the great gifts he had received from his Maker, both in the truth, and as a man, that I can say, I have often desired to grow in the plain, downright, humble and lowly spirit, wherein he became as weak with the weakest, and poor with the poorest, and low with the lowest; as well as he could be deep with them that were deep: so that in a good measure he had learned to become all things to all men, with a true and upright endeavour to gain some.

I can say, I have parted with a most entire friend and counsellor: but glory to Him who lives for ever! Through great mercy I know him, who is the fountain of all wisdom, righteousness, love and pity; who I trust will make up this great loss not only to me, but to his blessed people and church, especially in this his native country of Scotland, in and to which he had made him an ornament, and as a star and shining light. And Oh! that he may make me, and all whom he hath convinced of his precious truth in our native country, whether living therein, or abroad, to shine forth in the glory, beauty, and virtue thereof, and as the first fruits thereof, and witnesses of the great glory, that shall livingly arise therein; though perhaps ushered in by great tribulations, when our God shall wipe away the reproaches thereof, and change its name from barren or forsaken: because our God hath a true, though a small seed therein, in which he delighteth, and is married thereunto; and many shall be the children of the Lamb's marriage therein, in due time, when the leaven of the Pharisees is purged out, and the bastard births of the adulteresses and whoredoms of a false profession therein comes to be seen, and turned from.

As concerning this, our dear friend R. B. The Lord soon began his work with him, shortly after he was brought home from France, wherein, in his young and tender years, he was brought up at Paris under his uncle: and though at his return thence but about sixteen years, yet it having pleased the Lord to bring his dear and worthy father into his most precious truth, he having thereby occasion to be in the meetings of God's chosen people, who worship him in his own name, spirit and power, (and not in the words of man's wisdom and preparation,) he was by the vir-

tue and efficacious life of this blessed power shortly after reached, and that in the time of silence (a mystery to the world); and came so fast to grow therein through his great love and watchfulness to the inward appearance thereof, that not long after he was called out to the public ministry, and declaring abroad what his eyes had seen, and his hands had handled of this pure word of life. Yea, the Lord who loved him, counted him worthy so early to call him to some weighty and hard services for his truth in our nation, that a little after his coming out of the age of minority (as it is called) he was made willing in the day of God's power to give up his body as a sign and wonder to this generation, and to deny himself and all in him as a man, so far as to become a fool for his sake, whom he loved, in going in obedience to his will in sackcloth and ashes through three of the chief streets of the city of Aberdeen: as his testimony printed concerning it holds forth his service therein; besides some weighty services at several steeple houses, and sufferings in prison for the truth's sake.

And I cannot forbear to touch at his great care and zeal, that unity, love, and sweetness might be preserved among God's children over all the cunning endeavours of the enemy to the contrary.

What shall I say more concerning this servant of the Lord, but that, 'Blessed are the dead, that die in the Lord! Yea, saith the Spirit, from henceforth they rest from their labours, and their works follow them.' He laid down the body in the holy and honourable truth, wherein he had served it about twenty-three years, upon the third day of the eighth month 1690, near the forty-second year of his age, at his own house of Ury in Scotland; and it was laid in his own burial ground there, upon the sixth day of the same month before many Friends and other people.

ANDREW JAFFRAY.

King's Wells, the 9th of the 8th month, 1690.

These following lines were written by a person of repute, in Scotland, who is not one of those called Quakers.

An Epitaph upon that faithful servant of the Lord, ROBERT BARCLAY *of Ury.*

There be too few that take a true delight
On virtuous subjects a few lines to write.
In this degenerate age, most poets use
On scurril numbers to extend their muse :
On gilded nothings they their fancies strain,
Such as patched plays, like to unhinge their brain ;
And think, by this, their hearers to excite,
To satiate their carnal appetite :
As if to forge and lie were not a crime ;
They thus exhaust their talent and their time.
To shun this Scylla, and myself acquit
Unto his friends, I offer this small mite.
I do confess, my mind I cannot raise
To give the defunct his deserved praise.
Him to commend, I need not call the arts,
He was endued with piety and parts.
His memory, I'm sure, is dear to all
Who love the truth, and wisheth Babel's fall.
Whilst here on earth, he did not faint, nor tire
To preach Christ's will, without a farthing hire.
Though crosses, losses, and imprisonment
Stood in his way, he boldly o'er them went.
His soaring soul, by grace and education,
Might once been said the glory of the nation.
His elevated virtue shined so clear,
It did procure him love from prince and peer.
He had from heaven his mission and vocation,
Which faithfully he showed to every nation,
Where'er he travelled, or made some abode,
He preached repentance, and the fear of God.
He, as God's instrument, did often bring
The parched souls to taste the living spring :
These did stand up for truth, with heart and mind,
Who formerly were bond slaves, and were blind.
God's strength in him, and efficacious power,
Did at his doctrine, make the devil's lower.
But the wise Lord, who knoweth secret hearts,
And is the searcher of the inner parts,

Lest that our roving minds should gad abroad,
And fix on something else, besides our God,
Did call him hence, secure from carnal fears,
He reaps with joy, what he did sow in tears.
Now, since all flesh must nakedly appear
At God's Tribunal, there their 'counts to clear ;
And since that we are living lumps of clay,
Which the Great Potter can to ashes bray,
Learn, readers all, before your glass be run,
To deck your souls, ere they to judgment come.

ARTHUR FORBES *of Brux.*

TRUTH CLEARED OF CALUMNIES:

WHEREIN A BOOK, ENTITLED

A Dialogue between a Quaker and a Stable Christian,

(Printed at Aberdeen, and upon good ground judged to be writ by WILLIAM MITCHELL, a Preacher near by it, or at least that he had the chief hand in it,)

Is Examined, and the Disingenuity of the Author in his representing the Quakers is discovered.

HERE IS ALSO

THEIR CASE TRULY STATED, CLEARED, DEMONSTRATED,

AND THE

OBJECTIONS OF THEIR OPPOSERS

ANSWERED, ACCORDING TO TRUTH, SCRIPTURE, AND RIGHT REASON.

BY ROBERT BARCLAY.

Isa. liii. 1.—Who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?

John v. 39, 40.—Ye search the Scriptures, because in them ye think to have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me; and ye will not come unto me, that ye may have life.

Mat. v. 11.—Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake.

Acts xxiv. 14.—After the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers.

1 Thes. v. 21.—Prove all things, hold fast that which is good.

PREFACE TO THE READER.

READER,

For thy better understanding the matters handled in this treatise, I thought fit to premise somewhat by way of preface; and indeed the nature of the thing calleth for it, that thou mayst receive a true information concerning the people here pleaded for, and so generally opposed; but more particularly in the city of Aberdeen, that thou mayst understand, how the case stands betwixt them, and their adversaries in it.

Know then, that after the Lord had raised up the witnesses of this day, and had opened in them, and unto them the light and glory thereof, divers of them at sundry times were moved of the Lord to come into these parts, and unto the town of Aberdeen, in love to the seed, which there was to be gathered; but their acceptance for divers years together, was very unsuitable.

For the enemy that had wrought, and was exalted in the mystery of iniquity, to darken the appearance of this day, had appeared and stirred up his ministers to resist them and their testimony, by aspersing them with many gross calumnies, lies, and reproaches, as demented, distracted, bodily possessed of the devil, practising abominations under colour of being led to them by the spirit; and as to their principles, blasphemous deniers of the true Christ, of heaven, hell, angels, the resurrection of the body and day of judgment, inconsistent with magistracy, nothing better than John of Leyden and his complices. This was the vulgar and familiar language of the pulpits, which was for a time received for unquestionable truth; till about the year 1663, some sober and serious professors, in and about the said town, did begin to weigh these things more narrowly,

and find the savour of that life in the testimony of that so much reproached people, which some years before had stirred in others, who were now come to a great loss and decay; and this gave them occasion to examine the principles and ways of that people more exactly, which proving upon inquiry, to be far other ways than they had been represented, gave them a further occasion to see the integrity and soundness of that despised people, and of their principles, on the one hand, and on the other, to see the prejudiced disingenuity and enmity of their accusers. In these the Lord caused his word to prosper, (who were few in number, yet noted as to their sobriety in their former way of profession,) and raised them up to own that people and their testimony, and to become one with them. Now their adversaries finding nothing in these, whom the Lord had raised up in these parts, whereof to accuse them, as to their conversation, these calumnies must be cast upon strangers, living some hundred miles distant, where these untruths cannot be so easily disproved; but as to these at home, the tune must be turned. Therefore George Mildrum, who hath more particularly espoused the quarrel against truth and its followers, than any of his brethren, begins to say, that it is no wonder to see Quakers forbear gross out-breakings, for that heretics have formerly come as great a length (but surely, abstinence from gross out-breakings, and a clean outward conversation, is no good argument against the Quakers) so now the clamour is, though they have been professors, and that noted ones too, and though they be honest in their conversation, yet they are deluded and deceived, and are deceivers. And thus as of old, the truth and the witnesses of it have always been reproached by those of the Pharisaical spirit; so now: for sometimes they said, Christ had a devil, sometimes the apostles are drunk, and other times mad. Since these things have thus occurred, there hath been no little industry used, to suppress this people by threatenings and persecution (on which

account divers of our friends have been cast into prison, and some detained long in, of the said town) and also by preaching and writing, of which for thy information receive this account.

There were thirty queries sent by the bishop of Aberdeen (so called) to Alexander Jaffray. Also about the same time, a paper of three or four sheets subscribed by G. M. entitled *The State of the Controversy betwixt the Protestants and the Quakers.* The thirty queries were not long after answered by G. K. in respect to A. J. his sickness at that time, and returned to him from A. J. And some time afterwards, George Mildrum his paper, called *The State of the Controversy, &c.* was answered by G. K. to which papers of G. K. somewhat was premised by A. J., which papers being several times called for (but particularly in a letter from G. M. his own hand to A. J. wherein he entreats for an answer, that he might know, as he said, in what things we did differ, or in what things we only seemed to differ) were sent to him within nine months after the receipt of G. M. his papers. Before all which a sermon on purpose was preached by G. M. against the Quakers in the ninth month, 1666, wherein the sum of both his papers was asserted, only that it was digested in a pulpit-way, and introduced with an insinuating discourse of his pretended kindness for the persons of some Quakers, and his unwillingness to meddle with them, were it not his office, and zeal for the truth did engage him to it; but if it had been so indeed, he would have said no more of them than the truth: whereas it is stuffed with lies, which are positively asserted to be the Quakers' principles, by this pretended preacher of the gospel from his chair of verity (so called) or rather of falsehood: whereas yet G. M. his papers aforementioned, were not so much as sent, far less answered, by which, according to the words of his own letter above mentioned, he was to receive an understanding of the differences, and yet before he received his understanding, whilst he was

ignorant of the differences, according to his own confession, he is not ashamed to forge numbers of lies upon the Lord's people; and, as if they had been truths, consisting in his knowledge, to vent them before a public auditory: which sermon is largely answered by G. K. together with some animadversions upon it from A. J. Also several papers past betwixt W. M. and G. K. which had their rise from some queries sent by P. L. to W. M. answered by W. M. to which was returned a reply, by P. L.: the same was replied to by G. K. which having received a reply from W. M. was again replied to at length by G. K. It is now two years and upwards, since the last papers, from our friends' hands, were returned to the respective priests; unto which as yet, there is no answer, nor any of them published; but instead of all, at last comes out a dialogue (of which the proverb is verified, *Partruriunt montes, nascitur mus*) subscribed by no hand, but generally understood to be W. M. and by him not denied: which whether it be to deal fairly or ingenuously, the ingenuous may judge.

Ingenuous dealing would have stated things, as related from our own friends' hands, and given an account of the many Scripture-proofs and arguments made use of in our friends' papers, which this author in his dialogue hath done nothing less, but deceitfully hath represented us, (considering what had passed before, to which he himself, whoever he is, could not but be privy,) and disingenuously hath dissembled and waived almost all the Scripture-proofs and arguments, used by our friends in their aforesaid papers, as any may see, who are willing to look into the said papers, copies of which are in several hands, and any who desire to read them, may have them readily from our friends.

Therefore, however this work of his may satisfy and deceive a benighted multitude, whose faith is pinned upon other men's sleeves, nevertheless, I hope, it shall be an occasion to discover these men, to any who are

ingenuous, and love not to be hood-winked, but are willing to know the truth.

So, reader, having given thee this account, I leave thee to the perusing of the following papers, omitting those needless apologies, and flattering insinuations, usual in epistles of this kind; my end being to answer the good in all, and to starve, and not to feed the evil in any. And I refer myself to that innocent and pure principle, the light of Christ Jesus in thee, which bears testimony against all evil: that thereby thou mayst try and examine, what is here written, and who are the owners of Scripture, and who are the wresters of it; which thou canst only truly discover and discern by the Spirit, from which the Scriptures came, even that inward light and word of grace, that is able to build thee up, and establish thee in the truth, unto which I recommend thee.

R. B.

Ury, the 19*th of the* 2*d month*, 1670.

TRUTH CLEARED OF CALUMNIES.

To the Author.

HAVING taken a serious view of the Dialogue lately published by thee, and having weighed and considered it in the fear of the Lord, I found it incumbent upon me to reply unto it, both upon the account of truth, at which it strikes, and for thy soul's sake, as also for others; that any simple hearts, who have received hurt by it, may be undeceived, and thy unfair dealings may be manifested. In order whereunto, before I enter upon the examination thereof particularly, I have some things to lay before thee. 1670.

And, *first*, as to the manner and method of thy book by way of dialogue, it is no ways allowable from thee, being but a mere shift, to shuffle by those other papers aforesaid, from being noticed or regarded, where all those controversies are spoken to at large.

Secondly. The nature of this kind of writing ought to have engaged thee, to set down as largely, what could be said on the one hand, as on the other, and to have brought in all the proofs and arguments alleged by the Quakers, or at least the most considerable; but in that thou hast done nothing so much as becomes a man, far less a Christian, as any who have conversed with that people cannot but be sensible of. Thou hast made a bare representation of the Quakers' principles, and that so scantly and mincingly, that thou frequently givest thyself

1670. occasion to fight against a *man of straw.* But that wherein thou hast manifested the badness of thy cause, and thy weakness in pleading for it, is, that the substance of what thou hast said is nothing else, but that which was writ in the papers before mentioned, and so largely answered already; whereof thou art altogether silent, and wouldst insinuate, that what thou hast here writ, was never answered by any Quaker; yea, is not answerable.

Thirdly. In the beginning of thy epistle, thou allegest, that thou hast examined divers opinions, (of the people called Quakers,) and after trial, found them to be nought; whereas thou hast not so much as mentioned, far less answered, the arguments used by them, and in the manner of signifying their principles, thou givest not their own words, but couchest them in such words of thy own framing, as may bear the most disadvantageous construction. Hence thou sayest, that they deny original sin, that they overturn the doctrine of the saints' perseverance; that they call the ordinances of Christ, the inventions of men; all which things, as so conceived, are false.

Fourthly. There hath appeared in thee an airy spirit, full of vanity and self conceit, a thing which thou seemest much to cry out against in others, and wilt not see it in thyself; hence, in thy epistle, thou boastest, that thou hast so succinctly confuted their errors, highly commending the manner of thy writing, as that which, for ought thou knowest, was never done by any, who never handled these things with greater plainness and condescendingness to the meanest capacity, and in so narrow a compass, as thy own words bear. The signifying, that it was the judgment of some, that the publishing of thy papers might tend to edifi-

cation; the crying up of thy zeal for the ordinances, and many other passages, too tedious to relate, do very much evidence an itching desire in thee to be commended and applauded in thy enterprise. 1670.

Fifthly. In the writing and framing of thy discourse, thou hast introduced thyself most childishly and ridiculously, and takest frequent occasion to play upon thy own words, and snatch them, as if thou hadst got some great advantage; not unlike dogs, that bark at their own shadow, or those creatures that run and are mad, when they see themselves in a looking glass, supposing it to be some other, when indeed it is but their own image. That this is thy way, appears in many pages in thy book, as they are hereafter examined.

Now more particularly:

So soon as thou enterest upon the matter of debate, page 2, thou beginnest with great disingenuity; an evidence of what may be expected, or will be found throughout the rest. For notwithstanding the words of the Quaker are of thy own framing, and that they lie patent before thee; yet thou hast not had so much honesty in thy answer, as to subsume them aright. The Quaker says, I use not flattering titles, and give thee not heathenish salutations and bowings, lest I should sin, and be found an idolater: in answer to which thou beginnest with a false subsumption, saying, 'Thou wonderest that he should call salutations and bowings heathenish and idolatrous.' Indeed it is no strange thing, that thou and others misrepresent us, and belie us in repeating our words at a distance, when in this manner of writing thou canst not truly repeat those words, which thou placest for ours, when they be just written before thee. Is it not one thing to say,

1670. that salutations that are heathenish, or heathenish salutations, cannot be used without sin and idolatry; and another thing to say, that salutations and bowings are heathenish and idolatrous? Who is so blind as not to see here a vast difference? As to the first, who dares deny it to be a truth, that will offer to call himself a Christian? to wit, that salutations and bowings that are heathenish, cannot be used without idolatry and sin? But as to the other, that salutations and bowings are heathenish and idolatrous, being taken in general, was never said nor judged by the Quakers; and therefore to charge them with it, is utterly false, and a lie: for such salutations as Christ commands, and the apostles practised, the Quakers dearly own, and frequently use, and find in them great refreshment, because there through the life flows, and is communicated from one vessel to another; but such salutations thou art ignorant of, and of the life that is there through communicated, which bears testimony against all that is heathenish and idolatrous, and leads out of it, and therefore in thy dark mind wouldst from thence plead for the customary salutations of the heathen, as appears by the proofs thou bringest, wherein thy folly is very much manifested. Christ, sayst thou, commanded his disciples, when they entered into a house, to salute it; he did so: and what more? And if the house be worthy, their peace shall be upon it, to wit, the peace through the salutation intimated or offered, because they brought to that house the tender of the gospel and glad tidings, which was a good salutation. But what wouldst thou infer from that? That we ought to do off our hats one to another; a thing which they never did, by whose example thou wouldst press us to

do it: and it is known, that it is a thing unusual in that part of the world to this day. That other proof, alleged from Paul saluting the churches, makes as little, if not far less, to the purpose. Paul in his epistles, who was at a great distance, wisheth grace and peace to the churches from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ; ergo, we ought to take off our hats. Can there be any thing more ridiculous? Is this the great esteem ye put upon the Scriptures, to take the salutations of the blessed apostle Paul, signified by the motions of the Holy Spirit, which was the very blessing of Paul to the churches, or rather of the Spirit through him, for to prove your doing off hats one of the corrupt customs of this world? Is not this to make a mock of the Scriptures, and a stretching them to plead for that, against which is the natural tendence of their testimony? Next thou givest us Abraham's practice; but every practice of Abraham is not a rule to us, nor to you either; the like may be said of that of Moses. Though Moses did obeisance to his father-in-law, that makes nothing against us, far less his kissing of him, and asking him of his welfare; both which things the Quakers deny not. Thou acknowledgest, that religious worship given to the creature, is idolatry. What is religious worship, but that which is given to God? And is not the bowing of the body, and uncovering of the head, the signification of your worship to God? And if ye give the same to the creature also, where is the difference? For in the external signification it is not distinguished, unless it be said to be the intention; which if it be, we shall have the Papists pleading the same, for their adoration of images, and the relicts of the saints. And truly, your being 1670.

1670. found in these things, gives them advantage in that matter. That courtesy and Christianity are not repugnant, we deny not; and therefore for Christians to be courteous one to another, is very fit, which indeed that the apostle commands, we acknowledge: but that courtesy consists in taking off hats, and bowing to one another, that rests for thee to prove. In the next place, to prove the indifference of using the plural number instead of the singular to one person, thou sayest, thou art very confident, the kingdom of God consists not in words: so am I too; yet I strange thou shouldst say so, considering thy principles, for what is all your preaching but words? Yea, what is the Scripture itself, (I mean that which ye have of it, to wit, the letter) but words? And seeing the very gospel, according to you, is but a company of words, being a declaration of what past many hundred years ago, how has thy zeal here to oppose the Quakers made thee forget thyself in this matter? Thou sayest, that to which the singular number is agreeable, the plural may be applied to without making a lie. The proofs alleged for that be Matth. xxiii. 37. Luke xxii. 31. 3d Epistle of John, verse 13, evince nothing in this matter; for the context being rightly considered, will clearly make out, that the words are not applied to one single person only, exclusively of others; and that of Luke is to a flock, comprehending the disciples, to whom he was speaking just before; but there is no confounding of the number, where one single person is only spoken to, and that without understanding of any more. And though indeed it were good, that the difference were not greater, yet the differences in these things evidence, that there be differences in greater matters. And in respect that ye are es-

tranged in all things, therefore ye cannot see the weight from the principle, that leads out of corruption that is in these things, which is more than ye are aware of. 1670.

Page 3. Thou seemest to take great advantage of these words: 'Heretofore I walked according to my light, and the same I do still, and while, in the integrity of my heart, I walked in the way thou art now in, I dare not say, but God countenanced me in it.' Here thou makest a great stir, as if thou hadst brought the Quaker to a great dilemma: but to pass by thy examining of the weak objection, which thou makest in the Quaker's behalf, which I believe was never alleged by any of them unto thee, as that wherewith they either only or chiefly defend themselves in this matter; to wit, Solomon's sacrificing at Gibeon. As in many other particulars, so in this, thou statest the Quaker's part but too weakly and faintly; yea, disingenuously; for the Light which we walk according unto, and desire to walk according to it for ever, is the Light of Christ in us, and not our light otherwise than by the free gift of God, which we do freely acknowledge did shine in our hearts, in some measure, in the time we walked with you, (though we did not so know it,) and gave us some knowledge and discerning of things, and begot a measure of integrity and honesty of heart towards the Lord in divers of us, and turned the bent of our hearts truly towards him in measure. And the Lord countenanced and visited, and sometimes refreshed us secretly in those days, with a regard to that measure of integrity he found in us, and not because of, or in respect unto that way of profession we then walked in, which way was truly a hurt unto us, and not advantage. And

1670. it was not your way, which we walked in with you, that the Lord countenanced, but the integrity and uprightness, which he had begot in us, and had placed in us, as a tender plant, and as a root in dry ground, under the oppression of your way, which burthened it; and until we were brought out of your way, by his arm which drew us, his seed and plant in us suffered, and was oppressed as a cart with sheaves: but after we were delivered from your way, and turned to the way we now walk in, the seed and plant which suffered, came to receive strength, and be raised unto life and dominion, as many are witnesses at this day. Nor is this thy argument any other, but that which the Papists did throw against those, who sometimes walked with them in the Popish way of profession, some hundred years ago, when they came out from among them, whom the Lord visited while they were among them, and at times refreshed them, till he brought them forth to witness against them. For the Lord hath a people in Babylon, and hath his sheep, which are scattered on the dry and barren mountains of many sorts and ways of professions, who have some tender breathings and desires after him, and with a regard to his breathing seed in them, he visits them, and refresheth them at times; which yet proves not that they should remain where they are, in Babylon, and upon the dry mountains of dead professions and observations. For the call of the Lord is unto them to come out of Babylon, and his arm is stretched forth to gather them off from all these hills, unto his own holy hill, Mount Zion, that they may feed and lie down with them, who were as sheep, going astray, but are now returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of their souls. Also may

not those of the episcopal form object the same, against those who have left it upon a further discovery? and yet it is like thou wilt not deny, but some, who have been under the episcopal form, had a measure of integrity to God, while under it, and with a regard to that the Lord at times refreshed them. God does not frequently discover his will to his children all at once, nor lead them thoroughly out of things, out of which they are to come, in an instant; and yet that he countenanceth them in their travel, cannot be denied. Did not the Lord countenance Cornelius, before Peter came unto him? as appears by Acts x. 4. And yet this was no argument, that Cornelius should not own the apostles and Christians. And did not the Lord countenance the disciples, though even when they were following him, they were ignorant of many things, and in some things wrong? And whether did not the Lord countenance Luther in his testimony against the pope, as well in the first, as in the last steps of it; although it appears, that when he first began to preach against indulgences, he intended not such a thing as afterwards followed; but things opened more and more unto him, till they came unto that period they were brought unto before his death? And who of you will say that God did not countenance him from the beginning, whilst he held many things, which he himself came to see to be wrong, and erred very grossly in the matter of consubstantiation? The like may be said of John Husse, and others, whom you acknowledge to have been martyrs. At last, thou endest it with a question, asking, whether it be safe to lean to the audience of that light, which one while saith, that such a way is the way of Christ, and another while, thou must come out of it, for it is 1670.

1670. the way of anti-christ? To which, what is above mentioned, answers sufficiently; yet further, I may easily retort the question thus, upon the most of all the national ministry in Scotland, who are now licking up that which they heretofore cried out against as anti-christian, and with fire and sword persecuted those who offered to plead for that, which now they both practise and avow themselves in. Now as the fault of this cannot be ascribed to the Scriptures, which is the rule whereby they pretend to be guided; so neither can any man's instability, that pretends to be guided by the light, (if any such thing could be shown,) prove the light a guide not to be followed.

To prove that Christ is not in all men, thou arguest thus: Christ is not in all men, because the Scripture speaks of a being without Christ in the world; to which thou addest the reason: the unconverted must needs be without Christ, because they want the uniting principle, which is faith. To answer that Christ is in them, but not in union with them, thou sayest, is a fond distinction, because the Scripture's way of expressing people's union with Christ, is by asserting Christ to be in them, which thou takest for granted, and from thence drawest thy conclusion. But if it be found to be false, then the whole fabric falls to the ground, (as indeed false it is,) for even according to the Scriptures, the *in-being* of Christ in men sometimes signifies union, and sometimes his *existence* in them, working and operating in them by way of reproof and judgment, as also by way of call and invitation, to prepare for union with them, as appears by the very first scripture cited by thee, John xv. 4, 5, which answers not thy mind. For we say not, that where there is no union, fruit can be brought

forth unto God: but mark the last part of it, how much it makes against thee; without me, says Christ, ye can do nothing. For how becomes an unconverted man a convert, but by having Christ to work with him? And where does Christ co-operate? Does he not there, where the work of conversion is wrought, and is not that within? So that Christ must needs be in men, before they be in union with him, whereby the faith may be wrought, by which they are united to him. And as to that other Scripture, 1 John iii. 24. these and other Scriptures, which might be cited, hold forth that in-being of Christ, which is by union; but say nothing against his in-being in them, where the union is not; for he is in them who know him not, and are darkness, John i. verses 10 and 5; and he was crucified in the Corinthians and Galatians, which was in the time of their unbelief, 1 Corinth. ii. ver. 2, and Galat. iii. ver. 1, for the words in the Greek are ἐν ὑμῖν, i. e. *in you;* and indeed, there can be no greater absurdity, than to say, that Christ is in no man, but in them with whom he is united; for Christ is not separated from that light and seed, which is of him, that is in every man, but is united with it, which bears testimony against all iniquity; but many times men are far from being in union with that in them, which witnesseth against all sin, as experience sufficiently teacheth. Then, if that be in them, which is pure, and if Christ be in that pure, then Christ is in them; and if they be not united with that which is pure in them, then are they not united with Christ, which is in the pure, that is in them. 1670.

It seems strange to thee, that Christ should be in the heathen, and they not know him. Was it not as strange, that he should be among the Jews, who had the letter, that did bear a

1670. testimony of him, and they not know him? And that notwithstanding his miracles, and other proofs he gave of himself, they should so far mistake him, to judge him to be an impostor and blasphemer? Thou sayest, Is Christ so uncouth to them he dwells in, as not to reveal himself unto them? But though we say, that Christ is in all men, we do not say, he dwelleth in all men; for dwelling signifieth more than in-being: and yet I say, he does reveal himself in some measure unto all, in whom he bears witness against iniquity; for the revelation of Christ unto one, is not always by giving the knowledge of what past externally; but is a revelation of the righteous judgment against the transgressor in them, which to say, that the heathen wanted, is false, and contrary to Scripture, Rom. i. 18, 19, 20. John iii. 18, 19, 20; yea, and contrary to the very acknowledgement of Americans, who have confessed, that there was that in them, which judged and reproved evil. Whether, or not, their ignorance of the outward transaction, derogates any thing from their capacity of salvation, comes hereafter in its place to be examined; together with that other saying of thine, wherein thou showest the like disingenuity, viz. that the saying, that every man hath sufficient light to lead him to life and salvation, tends to put Christians in the same condition with Pagans; because, sayest thou, Christians have no more; and the preaching of the gospel, and the benefit of the Scriptures are little to be regarded; for without them men have sufficient light to lead them to the things of God. For the saying, that men have sufficient light, hath no such tendency; for he that is truly and really a Christian, (and not nominally only,) is one, that is united to Christ, and believes in

him. Now, it is one thing to have the light, and another to believe in it; which is clearly made out by that Scripture, 'while ye have the light, believe in the light, that ye may become the children of it.' And that it is a great advantage to have the knowledge of the Scripture, as outwardly, we deny not, for the reaching and raising of the seed in them that are afar off; and also for the comforting and refreshing of them, in whom it is raised, as the Scriptures are used in that spirit which gave them forth. Therefore we labour and travel so much for that end, and are found using the Scripture testimony. If it be said, that therein we contradict our principle, seeing it is possible that people may be saved without the Scriptures: I answer, nay; for many things are profitable, which are not of absolute necessity. You yourselves acknowledge, that other books, besides the Scriptures, are not of absolute necessity unto men's salvation, and yet you judge not all other books useless; yea, ye too much rely upon books. Also, you do not say that it is impossible, that any can be saved without preaching upon the Scriptures; and yet, you reckon not preaching to be in vain. But do ye not rather contradict your principles, who say that the number of all those who ever can be saved, is so definite from all eternity, (and that without respect to their faithfulness or diligence in the using of the means,) in the foreknowledge of God, that none of them can miss of salvation, and yet keep such a stir about preaching and ordinances? For you deny that God hath decreed men unto salvation, whom, in his foreknowledge, he did foresee would be faithful and diligent in the use of the means. 1670.

Page 7, thou sayest, 'All men have not sav-

1670. ing and sufficient light in them, because the Scripture saith, that some men are brutish in their knowledge. Jerem. x. 19.' But why didst not thou cite these words, 'for the pastors are become brutish, and have not sought the Lord, therefore they shall not prosper?' We see the proof of this, at this day. But from thence, how makest thou it appear that some men want saving light? The pastors are now as brutish as they were then; and it is, because they turn their backs upon that light, and will not follow it: therefore we have the more need to bear testimony unto it, and against their brutishness, who reject and despise it.

Next thou citest Rom. iii. 11. 'There is none that understandeth.' But will that infer, that there is not any saving light in them? Why understand they not, but because they are not turned to the light that can give them understanding? 'It is supposed,' sayest thou, 'that the light in some may be darkness.' So it may be, indeed, to wit, that light that is gathered from the carnal and earthly wisdom, which is from below, where it takes the letter of the Scriptures, and adds thereunto its commentaries and consequences, setting up this in them as their only light; we find that light proves but darkness. But that will not infer, that the true light, which comes from Christ, is or can be darkness, unless in that sense, as the day of the Lord is called darkness in Scripture. For even the true light, unto them who reject it, is as darkness, in that it gives them not that comfort and joy, which it giveth unto them who love it, and own it, but troubleth and affrighteth them, as the night and the darkness. So that these Scriptures stand in good unity with the principle of all men's having saving light in them. Next thou objectest,

that having of saving light and grace, presupposes conversion. But that I deny: for, on the contrary, conversion presupposeth having light and grace, by which and to which men are to be converted. So that before a man be converted, he must have saving grace in order to convert him, even as the being healed of a wound, presupposeth the plaster or salve: but not, on the contrary, for the application of the plaster presupposeth not the being healed. But whereas thou sayest, 'what need is there of his turning, when men are in this state already?' Thou misrepresentest us; for we do not say, that all men are in a state of light and grace. To be in a state of grace, is to stand in grace, which the wicked do not stand in; yet this hinders not, but that grace is communicated unto them, whereby they may come to a state or standing in it, while the day of their visitation remains. 1670.

Again, thou undertakest to prove, 'That all men have not sufficient light,' two ways: First, 'That all men have not the Spirit of God,' Jude xix. To which I answer, that there may be sufficient light in men, who may be said, after a certain manner, not to have the Spirit, as being such, who, though the Spirit be in them to invite, call and draw them unto God, yet resist his drawings, and so separate themselves from it so continuing, until the day of God's visitation unto them come to an end: concerning whom it is true, that then they have not the Spirit, so much as to invite and call them unto God, or to give unto them the least tender of his love. And though all have not the Spirit bringing forth the fruits thereof in them, to wit, love, meekness, gentleness, &c. as no wicked persons have; yet all, even the wicked, in a certain day, have the Spirit in

1670. them to reprove and convince, yea, to call upon them, and strive with them, in order unto their conversion; for the 'Spirit of God reproves the world of sin,' John xix. 8. And Acts vii. 50. 'Ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost:' and Gen. vi. 'My Spirit shall not always strive with (or in) man;' and many more to that purpose.

For a second reason of its insufficiency, thou sayest, 'It reveals not Jesus Christ a Saviour, in respect it gives not a discovery of his incarnation, passion, resurrection, &c.' citing 1 Cor. ii. 2. And from this place thou wouldst infer, 'That the apostle preferred the knowledge of Christ, as crucified outwardly, to all other knowledge.' Answer; though we willingly acknowledge, that to know him, even as he did outwardly come, and was crucified, &c. is a good knowledge, and of great profit and comfort to them who believe; yet we deny, that the knowledge of him, as outwardly crucified, is the best of all other knowledge of him, or to be preferred to all other ways of knowing him; nor does that scripture, 1 Cor. ii. 2. prove it. For Paul is not speaking there of Christ, as crucified outwardly in Judea; but of him, as he was inwardly crucified in the Corinthians, when Paul first came unto them to preach the gospel, as the words do plainly import, being rightly translated out of the Greek; for I 'determined not to know any thing, ἐν ὑμῖν, i. e. in you, but Jesus Christ, and him crucified.' This was the apostle's care and travel in his ministry, to declare and hold forth unto the Corinthians, and other Gentiles, Jesus Christ, who was crucified in them in his suffering seed, even that seed of light and truth which suffered, and was crucified in them under the burthen of their transgression, in the time of their

unbelief, and to preach salvation, and deliver- 1670.
ance from sin and wrath, through Jesus Christ, according to his weak and low appearance in them, in the suffering seed, through their believing in him, and closing with him, as manifest therein. According to which he said to the Galatians, that 'Jesus Christ was evidently set before their eyes, crucified in them,' ἐν ὑμῖν. And Ephes. iii. ver. 8. he said, this grace was given unto him to preach ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, i. e. in the Gentiles, the unsearchable riches of Christ. Parallel to which is that of the apostle, Col. i. 27, (for so should all these places be translated,) which riches of Christ lay hid and wrapped up in them, in the seed of the kingdom, which was the least of all seeds. Even as the riches and fruitfulness of a tree lies hid in the seed of it, which comes to be brought forth, as the seed takes root and gets liberty to grow up unto the due stature: So far this the apostle laboured, that people might know Christ in them, and might embrace him in their hearts, that so he might be formed in them, Gal. iv. 19. and they might know him to live in them, and his life to rule in them; which is more than to know him as outwardly crucified. And, indeed, none know the weight and greatness of what he suffered outwardly, but who know him first, as he hath suffered in them, and suffer and become crucified with him, so as to have a sympathy and fellow-feeling with him; even as the members suffer and are pained, when any thing hurts the head or heart. And whereas thou sayest, you see, the apostle judges the knowledge of Christ crucified, to be that one thing necessary. We deny, that the knowledge of his being outwardly crucified, is that one thing necessary, for people must know him in them; 'know ye not, that

1670. Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?' 2 Cor. xiii. 5.

As for thy charge upon the Quaker, saying: With what face can you blame me for being in darkness, seeing your opinion is, that all men have sufficient light in them? it is frivolous; for though the light, which is sufficient, to be in thee, thy opposition to the light blinds thee, and hinders thee from seeing light. A man may have a candle burning in his house, but if he put it under a bushel, it will not give him the sight of things in the house.

That there is no other name under heaven whereby any can be saved, but the name of Jesus Christ, is granted; but that name is another thing than the bare expression, or declaration and knowledge of words or things, as without. Because his name is said to be a strong tower, whereunto the righteous fly and are safe; which is another thing, than the bare naming of his death and cross without; for many unrighteous plead a right to that, and can fly unto it, as we see by the example of the Papists, (to whom, it seems, ye will needs join yourselves in this matter,) who say, that the outward naming of Christ, and signing with the cross, puts away devils. And that we are of another mind than you in this matter, is much to our advantage, because we know, the inward is the main thing, and where it is enjoyed, the efficacy and benefit of the outward cannot be wanting, though the distinct knowledge of it be not had. The knowledge of Christ's cross within, which is his power, that crucifies unto the world, is more than the knowledge of the outward; and to know Christ after the spirit, is more than to know him after

the flesh, as is clear from the words of Paul; 1670.
though I have known Christ after the flesh, yet henceforth know I him so no more. The apostle Peter knew well, that God was not so narrow-hearted, as ye would have him to be; therefore he said, that he had seen, that with God there was no respect of persons, but in every nation, he that loveth righteousness, and feareth God, is accepted of him. You yourselves dare not deny, but that some infants and deaf persons are saved by Christ, without the external knowledge. If you say, they are not in a capacity to know these things; I answer, so neither are many of the Gentiles, who never had these things revealed unto them. But if the external knowledge be necessary to the one, why not to the other? And if thou sayest, that some infants are in the decree of election: I ask of thee, or any of you, who of you has seen the decrees of God? And how knowest thou, that none of the heathen are enrolled into them?

And whereas thou sayest, 'Is not the application of Christ's blood and sufferings necessary to them that would profit, and get good thereby? For though the blood of Christ be a healing plaster, yet the plaster must be applied, ere the sore can be healed. Now what application can the soul make of Christ's blood, who knows no such thing? The blood of Christ is applied by faith, but true faith is not a blind faith.' Answer. It is granted: but this blood is known and felt within to wash and purge the conscience; for Christ, as he is within, is not without his blood, which is spiritual, even the pure blood of the vine, and is that wine of the kingdom, which is inwardly felt to wash and to refresh, which he gives to them, who know not distinctly the outward shedding of the blood, as it was many

1670. hundred years ago, and which many are ignorant of, who have heard much of the outward shedding of his blood, but know not the blood, as shed and poured forth in them, to sprinkle their consciences from dead works; for it is a mystery sealed up from all, who stand in opposition to his light within. But there mark thy own words, 'The plaster must be applied, ere the sore can be healed.' Must not then saving grace be applied, ere the soul be converted, or healed? Contrary to thy other assertion, page 7, 'that having of saving light and grace, presupposeth conversion, that is, healing.'

As for thy deceitful insinuation to render us odious, 'that if our principles were generally owned, the nations in one age, or two, would be overspread with as palpable darkness, as the heathen nations at this day are;' seeing it has no just ground, we return it upon thee as false and malicious. For it is the owning the light, and other principles held by us therein, which will make these nations, and all others who own it, and them, to overflow with the true and saving knowledge of God and Christ; but so long as they follow such blind guides as thyself, who oppose the light, darkness will cover them, as at this day, notwithstanding all their professions and confessions of him, while in works they deny him, and remain estranged from his light in them. The reason thou addest is blind and unreasonable; for, 'according to you (thou sayest) the light within us is a sufficient teacher, take heed to this, and there needs no more:' for we say, the light within must not only be taken heed unto, but believed, and obeyed and walked in; which who do, it will lead them to read and make use of the Scriptures, and will lead them to the assemblies of God's people, and to hear and receive

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the ministry of those whom God sends; yea, to love and esteem them greatly for their works' sake; and it will lead them to own Christ, and the benefits of his death and sufferings in the outward, and give them an understanding, how to conceive and use aright those things, as opportunity is given them.

Page 10. Thou sayest, 'Christ is a light, who communicateth light to all men; but where find you, that the light communicated to all men is Christ himself? We must not confound the light-giver with the light or enlightening given.' Answ. We do not confound them; but we must not divide or separate them, as thou and you do; for where the light, or enlightening from Christ is, there is Christ himself; he is not separated from it, but is in it, and with it; we must not be so gross as to conceive, that Christ enlightens men in such a way of outward distance, as the body of the sun, being so many thousand miles above the clouds, enlightens our natural eyes, but comes not near us otherwise, than by its influence and rays; for Christ is near unto every one, no less than his influence, for in him we live, and move, and have our being. And this nearness of his unto all men, in a day, is more than that general presence, in respect whereof he abides with all the works of his hands, forasmuch as he is in them to enlighten them, that they may believe, John i. 9. compared with vers. 7. P. 11. Here, because thou canst not deny, but that there is light in all men, thou sayest, 'It is commonly called the light of nature, and that some remainders of knowledge and principles of good remain in man, after the ruins of God's image in him; as when a city is demolished, some foundations of houses do still remain.' But how is this consistent with what you say,

1670. to wit, 'That there is no good thing at all in men unconverted; and that man fell wholly from God; and that Adam's fall was not in part, but wholly, as to all things that are good? And that we derive nothing from him, but that which is corrupted and defiled?' But the Scripture's testimony is plain, that since the fall, the free gift or grace of God is come upon all, unto justification of life. It is not said, justification is come upon all; but the free gift or grace of God is come upon all unto justification, so that all may be justified, if they did close with it, Rom. v. 8. 'And God so loved the world,' John iii. 16. 'And this is the condemnation of the world, that light is come into it,' vers. 19, which is after the fall. And whatever any may conceive, that remained in man of the image of God after the fall, that could not have any power to convince man of evil, or enable him to do any thing that is good, if it were not visited and influenced anew from the fountain of light and life, but it would remain as a thing without all life and virtue, as a candle extinguished. For by the fall, the Lamb, the witness, came to be slain, and remained so, until the spirit of life again was sent from God into it, to give it life and power, to witness against men's transgressions: for a witness that is wholly dead, cannot witness unto particular things of fact against men, as this inward witness in all men doth, who do not again crucify it in themselves. And seeing Christ tasted death for every man, and the grace that brings salvation hath appeared to every man, and the gospel is preached in every creature, as it is according to the Greek, in Heb. ii. Tit. ii. Col. i. 23. It is manifest, that the illumination given to every man, is a new and fresh visitation of

God's love in Christ, freely given unto them for salvation. 1670.

Now as to the word *nature*, if it be rightly understood, there shall be no great difference about it. For if by nature thou understandest the nature that is corrupt and fallen, and that which simply is derived from Adam, then we deny that that nature can claim any right to this light, or that it can be said to proceed from that nature. But if thou understandest by nature, the nature that is spiritual and heavenly, and is derived from Christ, the second Adam, the quickening Spirit, the Lord from heaven, then, I say, the light may properly be called the light of that nature; in which sense is to be understood that place of the apostle, Rom. ii. vers. 14, cited by thee, where he saith, 'The Gentiles which have not the law, did by nature the things contained in the law.' For who will be so gross, as to say, that the Gentiles by the corrupt nature could do the things contained in the law, which is pure and holy? But by that nature which is one with the law, to wit, divine and heavenly, they might do them. So that thou canst not but still be accounted a wilful enemy to the light, whilst thou opposest it, and dost not turn to it, and by it come to see the evil of thy ways, and forsake them.

Page 12. Though it be here asserted, in the name of the Quakers, that the Scriptures are of excellent and blessed use, yet thou wilt not believe it; and allegest, they will not make the due use of them, for these reasons, first, because a Bible, thou sayest, is not to be seen in all our meetings: but that will infer nothing at all; for we meet not to read the Scripture, but to wait on the Lord, and be taught of him, and receive from his Spirit what he pleaseth to administer, either in ourselves, or through the

1670. mouths of his servants; and we meet to worship God, whose worship is to be performed in spirit and in truth, and not in external reading. Thou sayest, Christ took the book of the prophet Isaiah, and read out of it: but was not this the performance of a legal duty, and in condescendency to the Jews' manner? For it was in the synagogue; but did he ever constitute it as a part of the Christian worship, for one man to take the Bible, and speak upon it, and all the rest to be excluded from speaking, while he prattles his own barren, empty notions about it? Show me, where that was the practice or order among the apostles and primitive Christians? In the church's way, 1 Cor. xiv. there is no such thing; but on the contrary, verse 29, 'Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge: if any thing be revealed to another that sits by, let the first hold his peace; for ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted.' By which it plainly appears, there was no such settled custom among them, but it is one of the main inventions brought in in the apostacy, whereby barrenness and dryness hath entered, and whereby the quickening, unlimited life has been stopped from flowing through many vessels. It is true, the apostles at times cited Scriptures out of the law and the prophets, to show their fulfilling, or to open the mind of the spirit concerning them, which is frequent in our meetings, to cite Scriptures, and open them in the same life and spirit that gave them forth, in the order of the spirit, but not in the order and way of man's wisdom and spirit, as is your way, which savours more of Aristotle's school, than of the church of Christ. *Secondly.* As to what thou sayest, that 'it is not our way, to encourage the people to read the scriptures,

and to try doctrines by them;' 'tis utterly false: for we desire, that all may come to try doctrines even by the Scripture; but we bid them also come to the light in them, to read and try doctrines, and understand the true sense of the Scriptures therein: and if people did so, we know, that then your jugglings about them would be made manifest. But, indeed, we are far from desiring people to heed your false glosses and commentaries upon them, whereby ye darken them rather than interpret them. *Thirdly*, thou sayest, 'When you want an inward command to a duty, I trow, the outward command of the Scripture is not regarded.' Answ. Here thou writest as one unacquainted with the law and new covenant writ in the heart; the inward command is never wanting in the due season to any duty, as it is waited for; and the outward testimony or signification of the command we regard in its place. Is it not a regarding the outward to mind the inward unction and spirit, to which it directs? Which inward teacheth all things, and leadeth into all truth, 1 John ii. 27. 1 Cor. xiv. 15. John xvi. 13, yea, do not such more regard the outward, than they who, under pretence of an outward command, do run about these things in their own natural will and spirit, neglecting to wait upon the Lord for the leading and help of his Spirit? Thy comparing us to servants, who will not be moved to work by their master's letter, &c., is vain and ridiculous, nor doth it reach us, for our Master's letter is writ in our hearts, and there we are to find it. Neither is our Master separated from us, as those masters are, who use to write letters to servants, to set them on work, while they are absent, and cannot help them by their presence; for our Master is always with us, and he requires us to do all our

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1670. works by his immediate council, direction and assistance, as present with us and in us: and that nature we witness brought forth in us, which does not shift his will, but delight in it to do it, and know it, whether told us by a lively voice, or by any other inward signification of his spirit. *Fourthly*, and because thou art ignorant of that great duty of waiting upon the Lord in silence, out of all thy own thoughts and words, and art trampling it under foot, thou lookest upon it as misspent time, or a mere looking upon the ground, whereas, if ever thou comest to know the Scriptures aright, or to confer aright concerning them, so as to profit, thou must first come to that silence thou so much despisest. So that these things may very well consist, though the world may judge otherways, whom thou wilt have to be judges in the case: but in the judgment of those who are redeemed out of the world, we shall be found to put the Scriptures in their true place.

'Thou canst not but smile,' thou sayest, 'that a man of understanding should grant the Scriptures to be a declaration of God's mind, and yet deny them to be God's word; for what is a word but a declaration of one's mind?'

Answ. Here thy lightness appears, which darkens thy understanding: if thou must needs smile, do it at thy impertinent reason. For though a man's word be the declaration of his mind, yet every declaration of his mind is not his word; for signs may be a declaration of a man's mind, without his word; and people usually distinguish betwixt a man's word, and his writ. And so, though the Scripture be a declaration of God's mind, yet it is not his word properly; nor can those properties which are declared of the Word, belong to the Scrip-

tures, as hath often been demonstrated, but to that inward and living Word, as it doth declare itself, whether in the heart or in the mouth. The Word of God is like unto himself, spiritual, yea, spirit and life: and therefore cannot be heard or read with the natural external senses, as the Scriptures can; nor does the Scriptures cited by thee, as Hosea i. 1. Joel i. 1. Isaiah xxxviii. 4. Jeremiah xiv. 1. prove thy intent, for that Word which came unto the prophets, was that from which the Scriptures were given forth, which Word you confess was immediate from God; but you say it is ceased to come now. And did not all the prophets prophesy from Christ, the Word? Thou mightest as well reason thus, that when it is said, the Spirit of the Lord came upon such a one, or to such a one, that therefore the Scripture is the Spirit, and so deny all spirit, but that which is the Scripture; as some do in other sects, calling the writings of the apostles and evangelists the spirit, and denying the necessity of any other thing; which is abominable deceit and wresting of Scripture: and that the prophets, declaring their message, said, 'thus saith the Lord,' proves that what God spake in them, and through them, as the living word declared itself, was the word of God, but not the letter or writing. And whereas thou sayest, it is all one to say, the Scripture saith, and God saith. Answ. By way of inference and collection, it may be said they are one, because of their agreement; yet the living word and speech of God is not the Scripture, more than the sunbeam is the shadow, though the one agrees with the other. Every one that reads, or hears the Scriptures read, hears not God immediately; now that which God speaks to any, or in any immediate- 1670.

1670. ly, that is only his word properly unto them. As they who only read my letter, cannot be said properly to hear me by word of mouth. Christ said to the Jews, 'ye have not heard his voice,' though they heard the Scriptures; and though the apostle used some Scripture out of the Old Testament, it proves not, he had the word of the Lord speaking then immediately in him, and to him. That Scripture thou biddest remark, 1 Thess. ii. 13, proves not thy intent neither; for the word which they heard of the apostles, was that living Word, declaring itself through the apostles, which was answered by the same in them who heard; they heard Christ of, in and through the apostles, does it then follow, that Christ is the Scripture? And lastly, Mark vii. 13 serves thy purpose no more than the rest; for the Pharisees, in striking at the fifth commandment, did consequently strike at the living inward word which gave it forth, as those who struck at any of the apostles, struck at Christ, yet none of the apostles was Christ; as neither is the Scripture, as it is outwardly writ, to speak properly, the word of God. And truly, the reason why we may not call the Scriptures the word of God, (to speak properly,) is, that people may be directed to that inward living Word; for by their being so much called the word of God, they have been put in Christ's stead, and have been set up as an idol, instead of that from whence they came; so that, to avoid this hazard, we have put them in their due place.

Page 14. To prove that it is the mind and will of God, that the Scriptures should be the rule, thou citest Isa. viii. 20. 'To the law and to the testimony,' &c. but it rests to be proved that the law and the testimony was not the inward law, and that that word, according to

which they were to speak, was not the inward word, which is said to be in the heart. It is observable, that to prove this thou bringest John vii. 49, where the Pharisees say, 'Have any of the rulers or Pharisees believed in him? but this people that know not the law, are accursed.' This place suits the matter very well, but makes much against thee; for the Pharisees here were crying up the outward law, and the knowledge of it: averring that the ignorance of it caused the mean people to believe in Christ. So do ye now; ye pretend to cry up the law, and say the ignorance of it occasions so many to leave you. And as they then were setting the law above Christ, and covering themselves with a zeal for it persecuting him, and reviling his followers as ignorants. So ye now, whilst ye are boasting of your great knowledge in the law, and in the Scripture, and your high esteem of them, ye are despising, crucifying the same Christ in his spiritual appearance, and upbraiding his followers now, as they did then, as ignorants, and contemners of the law. And as to Luke x. 26, how readest thou? This was spoke to one that was a lawyer, or interpreter of the law, and relied upon it, so Christ spoke this to check him; and besides, the dispensation of the law, which this lawyer was under, was different from that of the gospel in this matter, as may appear Hebrews viii. 10. Again, as for Christ and his apostles using the Scriptures for convincing of their opposers, so do we; and yet this proves not that either he or we judge them to be the rule, whereby to try all things and spirits, yea, even the Spirit of God himself. 1670.

Page 15. Thou seemest to lay much stress upon this, that it were impossible for us to prove to

1670. a Jew or a Turk, that Jesus the Son of Mary is in very deed the Christ, without the Scripture. But I answer thee to that easily; by what way wilt thou persuade a Turk to believe the Scriptures, or their testimony, but by the inward testimony of the Spirit? Calvin, after he has said all that can be said of outward ways, at last concludes, the only certain way to know it indeed, is by the testimony of the Spirit. And as to the course that Paul took with the obstinate Jews, it was very commendable, because they said they believed the Scriptures, and seemed to esteem them much, though they opposed the truth witnessed to in the Scriptures: so that it is evident, that some great pretenders to the Scriptures can make a cloak of them, to deny Christ himself, as ye do at this day. And though Paul took that course with the Jews, yet we see, he took no such course with the Athenians, to whom he cited no Scripture, nor endeavoured to persuade them by it; but told them, they were the offspring of God, and wished them to feel after him, who was not afar off from every one of them. *Thirdly*, sayest thou, 'The saints had recourse to the Scriptures in the examination of doctrines.' So have we too, as before has been declared; but that will not prove the Scripture is the rule.

Calvin, lib. i. cap. 7. Sect. 4, of his *Inst.*

Page 16. *Fourthly*, thou sayest, 'We are commanded to search the Scriptures,' Joh. v. 39. Answ. The words may be translated, 'you search the Scriptures,' as Pasor translateth them; but we do acknowledge, the Scriptures are to be searched, but are not to be rested in; which was the Jews' fault, who would not come to Christ to get life, thinking to have eternal life in the Scriptures, which Christ checks them for. And that the Scriptures are profitable for doctrine, correction, instruction, we own, (and

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are commended for their dignity and authority,) but they are thus profitable only to such, as come to the Spirit, to guide and direct them, how to make use of them, else they may prove an occasion of stumbling, as they did to the Pharisees. Hence it is said, that the man of God may be perfect; mark the man of God, not every man: now, no man can be truly called the man of God, but he that is led by the Spirit of God. Next thou wouldst undertake to prove, 'That it is not the mind of God, that the spirit within men should be the rule.' In which thou fallest very short, as appears, by saying, that Christ made use of the Scripture to prove himself, &c., and not the light within. And did these Jews receive him, who had the Scriptures? Did they not reject him? And why? Because they hearkened not unto the inward voice and testimony of the Father concerning him: and this was the testimony, which he said was greater than that of John, though John was the greatest of the prophets, and those who believe, had the witness in themselves,' 1 John v. 10, but to the unbelieving Jews he said, 'Ye have neither heard his voice, nor seen his shape.'

Scriptures profitable to whom.

Secondly, thou sayest, 'There is an express command to try the spirits,' 1 John iv. 1. Answ. But is there any word there of trying them by the Scripture? Cannot the spirits be tried by the Spirit of God? Or, is there any better way to try them? How tried Peter the spirit of Ananias and Sapphira? And is not the trial and discerning of spirits the privilege of the saints now? And how is it a peculiar privilege to saints, unless it be done by the Spirit of God? For the Scriptures any can make use of; the apostle John, writing to the saints concerning seducers, points them to the anointing, which

Trying spirits is by the Spirit of God.

1670. remained in them, and did teach them all things, and by this they did know all things, and consequently spirits, 1 John ii. 20, 26. *Thirdly*, thou sayest, 'Undoubtedly there are strong delusions, &c.' Answ. There are so indeed: but was there any more strongly deluded than the Pharisees? Yet how much did they lay claim to the Scriptures? How came they then to be deluded, who was so skilled in the Scriptures according to the letter of them? And the poor people, who were not so skilled, so rightly to hit the matter? And as to thy question, 'What way shall the delusion be tried, if you neglect the word of God, and look only within?' Ans. As for the word of God, nor yet the Scriptures' testimony, we neglect not; but what way, thinkest thou, shall the delusion be tried, if you neglect the spirit within, and look only upon the letter, and words without you? If the delusion be strong in the heart, will it not twine and wrest the Scriptures without, to cause the Scriptures to seem for it? And suppose a man be deluded with a spirit of delusion, what can help him but God, whose Spirit searcheth all the deepest things of Satan, and can and doth discover them to those who love to be undeceived, and are faithful to God in what they certainly know? And though the same deluding Spirit, who deceived first, may deceive over again, that makes nothing against the insufficiency of the spirit to discover the delusion; but if a man be deceived either first, or again, he is to blame himself for his defect, in not being duly watchful and faithful, in what is discovered to him of God truly and certainly. Consider the tendency of thy argument, which strikes not only at the certainty of the saints' faith now from the spirit within, and the assurance of knowledge therefrom, but also strikes

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at the very certainty and assurance of all the faith and knowledge, the holy prophets and men of God had from the spirit within, when Scripture was not. We are in no greater hazard to be deceived now, than they were then. You that set up the Scripture as your only rule, the many sects of you, what jangling and contesting is among you, while one pleads for his sense, and another for his? which all proceeds from their wandering from the Spirit, that gave forth the Scriptures. And as to satisfying of others, we refer and recommend them to the same spirit in them, to receive their satisfaction from that, which only can and will satisfy them who wait for it in singleness.

Page 18. And whereas thou sayest, the saints are led and guided by the Spirit, but it is according to the Scriptures. So say we too; but it doth not therefore follow, that the Spirit hath so tied and limited himself to the use of the Scriptures, as always to use them in every particular step of his guiding the saints; the Spirit is free to use or not use the Scriptures at his pleasure, and guideth the saints in many particular steps of their life, for which there is no particular Scripture, either to approve or disapprove them in. As for the more sure word of prophecy, we grant it is the rule, but deny that that more sure word is the Scriptures; but it is that word in the heart, from which the Scriptures came, and in and by which the Scriptures are to be interpreted. And is it not gross blindness and darkness, to say the Scripture is more sure, than that word, light, life and Spirit, from whence they came? Had not the Scriptures all their sureness from the inward testimony of the Spirit? How then can they be more sure? Thy example of the schoolmaster and the copy serves not

The more sure word of prophecy.

1670. thy turn, for the Spirit is unto the saints, both their teacher and their copy, and they need not go forth for a copy; and if they walk according to this, by looking upon it and eyeing it, they shall be good scholars and proficients. He writes them a living copy in their hearts, engraves it on fleshly tables; whereas they who look upon no other copy, but the words without them, are those who are ever learning, but never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.

Page 19. Thou askest, why we disjoin the Spirit and the Scriptures, citing Isaiah l. 21. Answ. We are not to disjoin what the Lord putteth together; sometimes the Spirit joineth or concurreth with the Scripture words, and sometimes not. How many preach and pray, and read the Scriptures, and talk of them, without the joint concurrence of the Spirit? which we say they ought not to do, the Scriptures should never be used to preach and pray, &c. but in the concurrence and assistance of the Spirit; for they are not of true use to any, without the Spirit, but ye disjoin them, who would have praying in the letter, and using of it without the motion of the Spirit. To such the Scripture is indeed but a dead letter, and it is no ways a reproach unto them, to be so called. Yea, what are the best of men, without the Spirit, but dead men? And this is not a reproach to them, but their glory: so, nor is it to Scripture.

The letter killeth.

Thou sayest, they are said to be a killing letter, and this shows that they are not dead. Answ. A poor argument, indeed! Cannot dead things kill, if men feed upon them? If thou feedest upon sand, gravel, stones, shells, will not these things kill thee, though they be dead? And if thou feedest upon the letter

without thee, and not upon the life, thou canst not live: yea, if one that lived, did depart from feeding upon the life, to feed upon the letter, it would kill him. And as for that Scripture, cited by thee, it makes very much against thee, to wit, Isaiah lix. 21; for it is one thing for God to put words into men's mouths, and far another, for men to gather those words from that without, and put them into their own mouths; nor doth it say that the words God shall put into their mouths, shall be no other words, more or less, but the express Scripture words. Why art thou not ashamed to cite this Scripture? Do ye not say, to speak, as the infallible Spirit gives utterance, is ceased? And consequently, God's putting words into the mouth, God's furnishing them with words suggested from his own Spirit and life, which the holy prophets and apostles witnessed to speak as moved by the Holy Ghost, do ye not say this is ceased? Why then cite thou a Scripture, which is so plain and clear for it? But that thou art in blindness and confusion. 1670. Isaiah lix, 21.

Page 19. In thy procedure upon the point of justification, thou makest a large step in that crooked path of deceit, wherein thou hadst too much traced from the beginning, but now more abundantly than ever, thou displayest the banner of thy disingenuity, and gatherest all thy forces together, it should seem resolving to give the Quakers a final overthrow. And to make the matter misty in the very entry of it, thou raisest dust to thyself, venting thy own filthy imaginations under the notion of coming from them, applauding thy endeavours, as if thou wert studying to preserve pure the principle of justification, in a point, where none is jumbling it among us. As thou advancest a little further, (page 20, 21,) having given a

1670. very scant account of their doctrine in this matter, couching it in most disadvantageous terms thou takest great liberty to extend thyself in a foolish and vain excursion, as if having fathomed the Quakers, thou hadst discovered them to be either turned, or turning rank Papists: therefore to trace thee thoroughly in this matter, that if it be possible, thou mayest come to have a discovery of thy vanity and malice, or though thou shouldst prove irrecoverable, yet others may have a view of both, I shall first, in honesty and plainness, declare the principle of truth in this matter, thereby observing thy misrepresentations: *Secondly*, show what vast difference is betwixt us and the Papists therein: and *Thirdly*, make manifest, how much nearer of kin ye are to the Papists, even as to this particular and the things relating thereunto, than we; which may serve as a seasonable shower, to allay that windy triumph, which thou endeavours to establish unto thyself.

As to the first, we are justified by Christ Jesus, both as he appeared and was made manifest in the flesh at Jerusalem, and also as he is made manifest and revealed *in us:* and thus we do not divide Christ, nor his righteousness without, from his righteousness within, but we do receive and embrace him wholly and undivided, *The Lord our righteousness*, Jeremiah xxiii. 6. i. 30, by which we are both made and accounted righteous in the sight of God, and which ought not, nor cannot be divided. And the manner and way, whereby his righteousness and obedience, death and sufferings without, become profitable unto us, and is made ours, is by receiving him, and becoming one with him in our hearts, embracing and entertaining that holy seed, which as it is embraced and entertained, becometh a holy birth in

Christ's righteousness ours.

us, which in Scripture is called, 'Christ formed within;' 'Christ within the hope of glory,' Gal. iv. 19. Coloss. i. 27, by which the body of sin and death is done away, and we cleansed, and washed, and purged from our sins, not imaginarily, but really; and we really and truly made righteous, and holy, and pure in the sight of God; which righteousness is properly enough said to be the righteousness of Christ; for it is immediately from him, and stands in him, and is as inseparable from him, as the beams are from the sun; and it is through the union betwixt him and us, (his righteous life, and nature brought forth in us, and we made one with it, as the branches are with the vine,) that we have a true title and right to what he hath done and suffered for us: for, being so closely united to Christ, his righteousness becometh ours, his obedience ours, his death and sufferings ours: thus we 'know him and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable to his death,' Philip iii. 10, by which nearness and fellowship, we come to know an unity with the suffering seed both in ourselves and others, and therein to travel for its raising and deliverance; which yet no ways derogates from the worth of the sacrifice he offered up unto God, without the gates of Jerusalem, while he humbled himself unto death, even unto the death of the cross, tasting death for every man. This is an honest, and plain, and true account of our belief in this matter, and is in substance one and the same with that, which at sundry times thou and thy brethren hast received from us; notwithstanding the bare, scanty and disingenuous account thou givest of us in this matter. 1670.

Secondly. As to the vast difference, that lieth betwixt us and the Papists, any who are not wil-

1670. fully blind may see it, who know their doctrine and ours in this thing.

How Christ is our justification.

It is not the works of Christ wrought in us, nor the works which we work in his spirit and power, that we rest and rely upon, as the ground and foundation of our justification; but it is Christ himself, the worker revealed in us, in-dwelling in us, his life and spirit covering us, that is the ground of our justification; and we feeling ourselves in him, feeling him in us, and his spirit, his life covering us, we feel our justification and peace with God in him and through him, the alone mediator betwixt God and man. Now, this manner of justification by the in-dwelling of Christ in the saints, and of his Spirit, is not held by the Papists, but is expressly denied by them, and disputed against particularly by Bellarmine: and Christ Jesus himself is both first and last our justification and foundation of it. And as to being justified by works, the Scripture is plain for it, and so we may not deny it, but plead for it, according to the true sense and mind of the Spirit, as we are taught of him. But to be justified by him, is more than to be justified by works; and therefore are we justified in our works, which we work in him, and because the Lord accepteth and justifieth us in him; therefore he accepteth and justifieth our works wrought in him, and accepteth and justifieth us in relation to these works. And though it hath been said by us, that good works, which are wrought in Christ, and are rather his than ours, are meritorious, yet we understand it not any other ways than thus: that all their merit or worth is from Christ. And seeing, they are said in Scripture to have their reward, and reward and merit are relative terms, inferring one another, in that sense, wherein they are said to be

Works wrought in Christ.

rewarded, they may also be said to be meritorious; which yet hinders not the freedom of God's grace in justification: for we do verily believe and confess, that both the works and the reward are of the free grace of God, and that the Lord giveth us all things not of debt, or as being in our debt, but of free gift; and his infinite goodness and wisdom hath seen it meet to promise a reward to good works, and so he doth reward them; because of his goodness and faithfulness, and not because he is addebted to any of us, otherwise than as he hath bound himself by his promise. And this is contrary to that false popish doctrine, which affirms, 'That men deserve a reward from God for good works,' upon the account of strict justice, without respect to the promise. And if it be answered, that all Papists do not say so, but are more moderate: well then, I say, if some of them be moderate, and pass from the erroneous opinion of popery, and speak that which is true, if others speak what is true also in that particular, should the truth be accused and condemned for rank popery, becauses ome Papists at times confess to it? You yourselves know, that Papists contradict one another in divers things, and where men directly contradict one another, one of the sides must speak true: but as to that, wherein the justification stands, and on which it is grounded, to wit, Christ himself as in-dwelling in the saints, none of all the Papists, for ought we ever heard, or read, do own it, but are against it. Again, as to the works by which the Papists seek to be justified, they are such, as we believe none can be justified by, viz. their outward observations, their invocation of saints, bowing to images, saying Ave Marias, telling their beads, their pilgrimages, their whipping themselves, their

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The Papists' justifying works pretended.

1670. keeping Lent, and many other such like works of voluntary humility, by which they seek to be justified, though they are evil works, as not done in the faith and power of God. Nor does it serve thy turn to say, 'That Papists think not, that works considered as evil and sinful, are sufficient to justify them:' for that is not the question, whether the Papists think to be justified by works sinful and evil; but this is the question, whether the Papists think to be justified by works, which are really sinful and evil, (however they may imagine them to be good?) And herein, I say, we differ vastly from Papists; they think and seek to be justified by such works, as are evil in the sight of God; whereas we believe, that by no such works can any man be justified. Other weighty differences could be showed in relation to this matter, but what is here in short declared, may suffice to evince, that we differ widely from the Papists concerning justification.

Thirdly, Look how near akin ye are to Papists, as in many other things, so in these relating to justification. *First*, Do ye not say, that ye are not justified by Christ in-dwelling in you? So say the Papists. *Secondly*, Do ye not say, that the way to attain to a state of justification, is not by believing in the word of faith, which is in every man, and in the light wherewith Christ has enlightened every man that cometh into the world? And so say the Papists: who, though they talk of universal grace, yet they deny that this universal grace is an evangelical principle of light, by believing in which, men can attain to a state of justification immediately. *Thirdly*, Do ye not say, that God's act of justification is not an immediate testimony of his Spirit, declaring or pronouncing men righteous? And so say the Papists.

Fourthly, Do ye not say, that men are not to know their justification, or that they are in a justified state, by an immediate testimony of the Spirit in them by way of object, for this were to assert immediate revelation? So do the Papists: so, by these few instances given here, and by many other instances given by others in other particulars, try yourselves, and first clear yourselves of popery before you or thou dost throw it upon us. 1670.

Now whereas thou allegest, that the apostle, in the matter of justification, excludes all works, even those of Christ his working in the saints, and which they work in him; 'tis false; nor do the scriptures cited by thee prove thy intent, as Rom. iii. 20, Gal. ii. 16, Tit. iii. 5. Thou sayest the apostle speaks of works in general, without any limitation; but herein thou contradictest the very express scriptures cited by thee; for all these scriptures speak of works with a limitation, as Rom. iii, 20, 'by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified;' and Gal. ii. 16, 'knowing, that a man is not justified by the works of the law.' Here the works of the law are excluded, but not the works of Christ in us, which are not of the law; for the law or first covenant was weak, and gave not strength to them who were under it, to fulfil righteousness; but those who are in Christ Jesus, witnessed the righteousness of the law fulfilled in them, who walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit. And as for that other scripture, Tit. iii. 5. though it exclude works of men's doing, as of themselves, yet it excludes not all works, nor inward righteousness of Christ, but expressly includes it: 'According to his mercy, he saved us by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost.' Thou couldst not

Works of the Law and of the Spirit.

1670. have brought a more plain proof against thyself; for thou citest this scripture as holding forth justification. Now the apostle saith, 'he saved us according to his mercy, by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost;' and is not the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost a work, which comprehends many particular works of the Spirit of Christ in the saints? And is not regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost a righteousness wrought in us? How is it, then, that thou art not ashamed to charge us with rank popery, for saying we are justified by a righteousness wrought in us: seeing the very scripture cited by thee is expressly for it? May we not pertinently return these words upon thee, which thou misappliest to us? 'Oh! tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon,' &c. That a man who pretends to teach others aright in the matter of justification, hath so confounded himself, that to prove that justification is not by a righteousness wrought within, brings a scripture which speaks expressly of righteousness within, to wit, that of regeneration and renovation, by which we are saved. And if any should say, the words do not say, we are justified by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, but we are saved thereby, as intending sanctification, and not justification. I answer, this helps not the author out of the ditch, for he brings this scripture forth, applying it to the matter of justification. But again, if these words exclude all works generally, and without any limitation, then they exclude all works, which are wrought by the Spirit of Christ, from sanctification; as if men were sanctioned by no works of the Spirit of Christ within them. Or if it be said, that works of our own doing self-

Sanctification by the works of the Spirit.

righteousness, are only excluded from having place in our sanctification, but not the works wrought in and by the Spirit of Christ; then I say, why may not the same distinction have place in all these other scriptures, which say, 'we are not justified by works,' &c? And, indeed, in all these scriptures, it holds true no less concerning sanctification than concerning justification; as thus, 'By the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be sanctified, knowing, that a man is not sanctified by the works of the law,' &c. But it were vain to infer from this, that men are sanctified by no works of righteousness wrought in them by the Spirit of Christ. Therefore it is as vain to infer that men are justified by no works of righteousness wrought in them by his Spirit. 1670.

Page 22, thou sayest we can shift off popery with this, that they are not our good works which deserve and merit justification, but the good works of Christ's working in us. Yea, I say, we do justly cast off the accusation of popery, as having the express testimony of Scripture, that we are justified by works, to wit, such as are wrought in Christ, and by him in us. James ii. 24, 'You see then, that a man is justified by works, and not by faith only,' compared with Tit. iii. 5. before mentioned. And as for the Papists' works, by which they seek to be justified, we do not acknowledge them to be such works, as whereby or wherein any can be justified.

And whereas thou pleadest, 'That the good works of Christ's working in us, are ours;' citing Isai. xxvi. 12. Matth. v. 16, &c. We grant it, but they are not ours in that signification: as where it is said, 'He that is entered into his rest, hath ceased from his own works,' Heb. iv 10. There are works which are so

What works do justify.

1670. ours, that they are not the works of the sanctifying, renewing Spirit of Christ in us; and such are works both of open unrighteousness, and of self-feigned righteousness, which has no better root to bring them forth, than man's own will and spirit: and by such works we deny to be justified; yea, we deny all such works, and the justification by them, and desire to stand in a continual denial unto them, and forbearance from them. But again, there are such works, which are so ours that they are Christ's also, who works them in us, and by us, and are ours by his free grace; and by such works, we affirm, men are justified.

Page 23. Thou pleadest, 'That men cannot be justified by any works of Christ's working in them, because they are imperfect.' And for their imperfection, thou instancest, 1. Faith; because it is said, 'O ye of little faith, why doubt ye?' Answ. By this thou mayest as
True faith. well exclude faith from justification every way, as works, if it were granted, that their faith was imperfect; but that scripture, nor no other, speaks not of imperfect faith, but of little faith. Now little faith is perfect in the measure of it, as a little gold is perfect gold. And though the disciples had doubting, yet the faith was not the doubting, nor was it made impure by it; for the least measure of true faith can never be defiled, otherwise it could not purify the heart; it is like the fire, which cannot be defiled with the impurities of those things it works upon. And as for the disciples at that time, as they were in part justified, or approved by the Lord in relation to their faith, so were they reproved, and not justified of him in relation unto, or because of their doubting. But this scripture, nor none other, proves not, that faith was or is always accompanied with doubt-

ing: Abraham believed God's promise without doubting, and was 'strong in the faith, giving glory to God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness,' Rom. iv. 20, 21, 22. And, said James, 'His faith was perfected by works,' chap. ii. 22. For that which is perfect in a less measure, can be further perfected in a greater. *Secondly.* Thou pleadest, that knowledge is imperfect, because the apostle saith, 'We know but in part,' 1 Cor. xiii. 9. But the apostle does not say, our knowledge is imperfect, or impure: we may know a thing in part, and yet that which we know of it, we may know perfectly. *Thirdly.* Thou pleadest for the imperfection and uncleanness of the saints' obedience, from Eccles. vii. But that place is not to be understood concerning all men in all states and times. There is an earthly, unrenewed state, and while men are here, there is not a just man among them, as Rom. iii. ver. 10. 'There is none righteous, no not one:' and there is an heavenly renewed state, wherein 'a man is born of God, and sinneth not,' John iii. verse 9. And said the apostle, 'Let no man deceive you, he that doth righteousness, is righteous;' which imports, that there are righteous men, who do good. And, said the Lord to the servants that used their talents, 'Well done, good and faithful servant,' Matth. xxv. vers. 21, 23. And that other scripture thou citest, Isai. lxiv. 6, serves nothing thy turn: for the prophet saith not, all our righteousness, which is of thy working in us, who are saints, is as filthy rags; but all our righteousness, which we, even the best of the saints, can perform of and from ourselves, are as filthy rags; man's best works, his best righteousness, which is of and from himself, is filthiness and unrighteousness before God, and he is to cease

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Self-righteousness as filthy rags.

1670. from all his own works, Heb. iv. vers. 10. And it is plain, that when the prophet in that place saith, 'We are all as unclean, and there is none that calleth upon thy name;' he does understand the multitude of the Jews, who generally were a carnal people, and relied upon their outward observations, and did not worship God in spirit and in truth; but did not understand it of all and every one among them: for he himself did call upon his name. And that the saints were washed and cleansed, see 1 Cor. vi. 11. 'But ye are washed, are sanctified, are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God:' and John xv. 3. 'Now ye are clean through the word, which I have spoken to you:' and Ezek. xxxvii. 33. 'At which time I shall cleanse you from all your iniquities; I shall also cause the cities to be inhabited:' which imports a time upon earth, wherein they should be made clean from all their iniquities. And how? Art not thou and you ashamed to affirm, that the best works of the Spirit of Christ in his saints are as filthy rags? Does not the apostle say, 'that a meek and quiet spirit is an ornament, which is of a great price even in the sight of God?' How then can it be a filthy or menstruous rag? A filthy and menstruous rag is good for nothing, but must be thrown away upon all accounts; and if that holiness, and righteousness, and meekness, which is of Christ his working in men, be as filthy rags, then, according to your doctrine, men should throw them away, as being not only unprofitable to justification, but to any other use? Yea, a filthy and menstruous rag, men do hide from the sight of another, and do never wear it as an ornament; whereas the saints put on the meek, and quiet, and sober, and righteous spirit, as an ornament of

great price, not only in the sight of the saints, but even in the sight of God. 1670.

Page 24. Thou pleadest, that the good works of Christ in the saints are defiled and imperfect, because the saints, who are subservient and instrumental in them, are unclean; and who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? Job xiv. 4. Answ. It is granted, that the saints are subordinate co-workers with Christ; but yet it follows not, that his works in them, and by them are defiled. And though it is said, 'Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?' this hinders not, but that the Lord can and doth make clean those, who have been unclean, and so out of them who are made clean, bring forth clean things. And though every one, in whom the work of sanctification is begun, be not wholly cleansed, but that there may be an unclean part in them for a time; yet there is also a clean part in them, who are in the least measure sanctified: and so these, who work with the Spirit of Christ, work with him according to this clean part; and it is the clean part in them, which he maketh use of as his instrument. And as for the unclean part, it is not to work with Christ, but to be chained down, and fettered and bound up from working, to the end it may be wrought upon, that it may be cleansed. And thus, by degrees, the clean part increaseth, and the unclean is diminished till all the uncleanness be wrought out. And where the unclean part is let loose to work, the pure Spirit of Christ doth never join in working with it, but judgeth and reproveth it; and therefore, in so far as the unclean part worketh in any, that man, in whom it worketh, is not thoroughly justified and approved by the Lord; but there are, who witness the cleansing from all uncleanness; and so

The Lord makes clean the unclean.

1670. as clean vessels and instruments throughout, bring forth clean things, clean works.

Thy example, how that clean water, passing through an unclean pipe, receives a tincture of uncleanness, hits not the case; for the spiritual water is not like the common, gross outward water, which an unclean pipe can defile; but like the fire and the light, which, though it touch unclean things, cannot be defiled by them. Every thing of the Spirit is undefilable, as the Spirit is, which no unclean thing can defile; and if thou wert well skilled in the outward creation, thou mightest find an outward water so pure, that passing through an unclean pipe, shall not be defiled with it. But if thou knowest not these earthly things, and believest them not, as Christ said, John iii. 12. 'How shalt thou believe, if we tell thee heavenly things?'

The spiritual water is undefilable.

Page 25. Thou chargest us with erring grievously, in confounding justification and sanctification. Answ. Justification is either taken for God his adjudging a man, unto eternal life, and in that sense, it is not to be confounded with sanctification; yet it is not to be separated therefrom, for God adjudgeth no man, but the sanctified, unto eternal life or happiness. Or it is taken for the making a man righteous; and then it is all one with sanctification. And that thou sayest, the word is most frequently used in Scripture in that sense of adjudging, being opposed to condemnation, doth imply thou hast not the confidence to assert, that it is always so used, as indeed it is not.

A two-fold justification.

And whereas thou citest Phil. iii. 9. to prove that the choicest saints upon earth have disclaimed all righteousness wrought in them, by which they could be justified; I say, that Scripture proves no such thing, and thy observation

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to prove it is insufficient; to wit, that the apostle doth not speak of his righteousness, whilst he was a Pharisee, for that he disowned, verse 6, 7, for admitting it, yet he was still to deny and disown the work and righteousness, which could proceed from his own will and spirit; even all the willings and runnings, which can arise from a man's self, though he be a saint, without the immediate operation of the Spirit of Christ, the saints have this to watch against, to keep down the active and working self-will, and stop it from working the self-righteousness; which, if it be not watched against, and stood against, will fall a working its righteousness, which God accepts not, as being but the bare righteousness of man: and this is that righteousness which Paul denied to have, which he even calleth the righteousness of the law; but this, (which is of the law,) thou cunningly omittest, because it made against thee, it seems. Now what that righteousness of God through faith was, which he desires to have, he plainly expresseth, verse 10, 'That he might know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, in being made conformable unto his death.'

Self-righteousness to be watched against.

Now, is not the knowledge of him, and the power of his resurrection, a work of the Spirit of Christ in the saints, by which they are justified; according to that, 'by his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many?' And is not the fellowship of his suffering, or the suffering with him, a work of his Spirit? And *lastly*, is not the conformity unto his death a work of his spirit in the saints, comprehending the whole work of mortification?

Page 26. Thy last argument from 2 Cor. v. 21, is most absurd and impious, for accordingly it would follow, that as Christ was made sin

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for us, or suffered for our sins, who himself had no sin, no not in the least, so we may be made righteous before God, though we have no righteousness, no holiness, no faith, no repentance, no mortification, no good thing wrought in us. And doth not this strengthen the wicked, ungodly, and profane in their presumption, to have title to Christ's righteousness? And so, to return thy misapplied instance in another case, suppose some of the profane, who plead a right to Christ's righteousness, having lost some of their number, should happen to hear thee disputing against all good works, as being profitable to justification, might they not say concerning thee and thy brethren, who teach such doctrine, 'We have not only got the lost sheep, but the lost shepherds, and the chiefest of them too on our side,' let us rejoice, we have found them! We find, the apostle makes a far better inference from Christ, his dying for us, 2 Cor. vi. 15. He died for all, that they who live, might not any longer live to themselves, but to God; yea, and every where he holdeth forth inward holiness and righteousness, as that without which no man can lay claim to Christ: 'If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature;' but he doth not say, God reputes him a new creature; though he be not really renewed. And though it be said, that we are made righteous in him; this hinders not, (as thou vainly inferrest,) 'that we are not made righteous by an inward righteousness:' for he is in the saints, and fulfils the righteousness of the law in them; 'that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us,' Rom. viii. 4. Therefore that 2 Cor. v. 21. is thus to be understood, that Jesus Christ, who knew no sin, was made to be sin for us, that is, suffered for our sins, that we, who had

Christ's righteousness made by the priest a strengthening of the wicked.

The righteousness of the law fulfilled in us.

really sinned, and so deserved wrath, might partake of the love and grace by him, and through the workings thereof, be made the righteousness of God in him. For that the apostle understood here a being really made righteous, and not a being esteemed or held as righteous, while indeed impure, is very evident by the whole following chapter, but especially towards the end: 'What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? Wherefore come out from among them, touch not the unclean thing, be ye separate, and I will receive you, and ye shall be unto me for sons and daughters.'

Now to be received of the Lord, is to be justified of him; and here we see plainly, that in order thereunto there is required a righteousness, by which they must be separated from the evil and unclean, and must not touch it.

And whereas thou sayest, 'That the holiest actions of the saints, because of the sinfulness of those actions, deserve condemnation.' I ask thee, whether did the apostles sin in writing the Scriptures, in preaching Christ, and gathering the churches? Whether their being the instruments made these things sinful, which were done not only by the command, but by the power and virtue of Christ in them? And seeing thou canst not deny, but the Scriptures (called by thee the Word of God) were brought forth by the Holy Spirit, in the holy men of God, and did flow as waters from the Spirit of God, which gave them forth, through the very first penmen of them, because of the uncleanness which thou supposest to have been in them? If thou sayest, nay, thou contradictest thy former instances of clean water, receiving a tincture of uncleanness, from the unclean pipe, through which it passeth: If thou sayest, yea, to wit,

Then writing the Scriptures was *sin* in the holy men of God, according to W. M.'s position.

1670. 'That the Scriptures were defiled and corrupted by the penmen of them,' I leave it to all of any sound judgment whether you or we be most esteemers of the Scriptures, we, who say, they were words pure as gold, without any tincture of uncleanness or corruption, as they came forth from the Spirit of God, through the penmen of them; or you, if you say, that they were defiled with the uncleanness of the men, through which they were given forth? He who has any true understanding, let him judge concerning these things.

Page 26. Thou blamest it, as an unsuitable thing for a Quaker to say, that that people, to whom he is joined, are the most Christ-like Christians this day upon the earth: and yet will any of you say less of your way? for if yours be not the best way, why do you plead so much for it? why do ye preach it up? why do you study to draw people to it, and complain of those who have left it? Now is not a good principle a ready way to lead people to good practices? and are not those who are in the right way, of the flock of Christ? and is not Christ's flock like unto him? Can it therefore be an unsuitable thing for one, who supposeth himself to be of Christ's flock, to say, the flock, with whom he is, is likest to Christ? Will any of you say less, except ye grant yourselves not to be of Christ's flock? 'We are not the most Christ-like people,' sayest thou, 'by what we outwardly appear, because the monks and hermits therein excel us; nor yet by what we inwardly feel, because others different from us have felt as much.'

As to the first, thou hast showed thy ignorance of the very appearance of Christianity: for the appearance of Christianity is not in fleeing the society of men, or retiring the out-

ward man, making vows of voluntary poverty; for any one, that hath the least knowledge in true mortification, may know, that where a man's meat and provision is laid up for him, and that there is no care of these things lying upon the mind, but a full liberty to live in idleness (which is the monks' case) it is an easy thing, in self-will to take on a demure deportment, or to wear haircloth, or go barefoot; which by custom becomes familiar. And truly, many of the commons in Scotland are used to greater hardships than all that, and yet are far from having the appearance of Christianity. But the matter is, for people to be conversant in this world, to have their occasions and business in it, and to have dealing with the spirit of it, and yet to keep to the meek, lowly, simple appearance, using it as if they were not using it, by keeping out of its spirit and way in all manner of conversation: this is to be like unto Christ, who did not retire himself unto an hermit's lodge, but conversed among publicans and sinners. Now let your flocks and the Quakers be compared together in this particular, and let the light in all consciences judge, who are likest to Christ. 1670.

Secondly. To evidence, that some different from us have had as much inward feeling, thou sayest, 'thou canst tell us of some, who have had so much of the fear and dread of God upon their hearts, that they durst not adventure upon sin;' by this thou seemest to grant that there are inward feelings and enjoyments among the Quakers, saying, 'What good is it, that you truly feel that persons different from you have not felt?' And how doth this consist with your judging the Quakers fallen into apostacy and delusion of the devil, and that they are possessed with the devil? Can such have inward

1670. feelings and enjoyments of God? For my part I am glad to hear, that any such have been, 'who have had so much of the fear and dread of God upon their hearts, that they durst not adventure upon sin;' and I should be glad, and so I know would any of the Quakers be glad to meet with them. But now such, who have so much of the fear of God upon their hearts, that they durst not adventure upon sin, would they not love to be perfect? Would they dispute against perfection, and conclude it impossible? Would such, who dare not sin for a world, sin every day, yea, every moment, as you say ye do? If they dare not sin, would they not refrain from sin, and cease from it? And would they make use of that poor evasion, which thou addest, that therefore they would not willingly sin for a world? As long as the dread and fear of God remains and stands over the heart, sin is shut out, and the mind's will is to fear God, and not to sin.

Thou canst tell us of others (thou sayest) 'who many years lived in the sweet sense of God's favour, and have gone most triumphantly out of the world, with strong persuasions of their eternal well-being.' But would such have pleaded for continuance in sin? Doth not continuance in sin eclipse and take away the sense of God's favour? And further, would such have denied fellowship with God by immediate revelation, as you do? Would they have denied the immediate teachings of the Spirit, as you do? Do not some now living, remember some of them, who had these feelings, and did bear an express testimony to the immediate teachings of the Spirit, and immediate fellowship with God, and plainly declared, that no preaching was profitable, but that which came immediately from the Spirit? And found fault with

Immediate teachings of the Spirit.

the ministers, that they preached from their study and their books, and wished them to put away or burn their books, for that they were a hurt to them? And some of those saw over and beyond, and unto the end of your so called ordinance of outward bread and wine, and said plainly, it was but a shadow or figure, and that those who witnessed the substance, had no need of the other. And though those and some others, who witnessed such inward feelings and enjoyments of God, who were not called Quakers, nor had their understandings so clearly opened as to many things, as the people called Quakers have; yet with the same life in some measure they have been acquainted, which is the Quaker's way, even Jesus Christ, who is the way, the truth, and the life. And so as to those examples thou givest, which were witnessed (thou sayest) some twenty years ago, we deny not, but that the Lord did appear, and was near the simple hearted in that day: and some who are now among the Quakers, remember that day, and have a share in those feelings and enjoyments, which are now; and in the experience and enjoyment of them can bear a true testimony, that the feelings and enjoyments of this day, unto those who follow the Lord in his leadings, do far exceed, what was in that day. And now the sun is set upon that day; for the Lord is calling his people further: and those among us, who had those former feelings, can witness, that while they would have been tasting of that sweetness, and remained still with you, the Lord would not; but suffered dryness and barrenness to come over them: and that which some time had been as a fruitful field, to become a barren wilderness, till they saw, that they were not to limit him to invented forms, but were

1670.

Bread and wine.

Former feelings and enjoyments.

1670. to forsake those things in his will, in which through his indulgence and compassion he had sometimes appeared unto them, and to be found following the footsteps of the flock whom he is leading on to a further state, in which they find the Lord appearing more gloriously than ever, to their refreshment: glory to him for evermore! But with you it is otherwise: for who among you witness these things at this day? Yea, some of you are so ingenuous, as to confess, 'that ye find not these things now; and that this is a cloudy and gloomy day;' and it shall certainly so continue unto you, until ye come, and walk with us in the light of the Lord. But because ye will not, but will confine the Lord in these forms, whereunto ye have devoted yourselves; therefore is darkness over you, and your prayers are become dry and barren, and full of complaints of an absent God. And what inward joy from God any have felt among you, we cannot impute it to your way, more than what some have felt of refreshment in some other professions and forms, can be imputed to their way.

Baptism and the Lord's supper.

Page 30. Thou sayest, 'It is known, that we are enemies to singing of psalms, baptism and the Lord's supper;' and because we say, that we are not against these things, therefore thou callest us disingenuous, or such as seek to delude people: which challenge is false, and a calumny. For we do indeed own these things in the true acceptation and meaning of them, and in the substance and reality; and if we do so, are we disingenuous and deceitful because we deny them in your acceptation, which only comprehends the shadow, that passeth away? If baptism, which is really and truly the baptism of Christ, we own, and participation of the body and blood of Christ, which is really so: I say,

The shadow for the substance comprehended by professors.

if these things be really owned by us, as they are indeed, can we be said to deny them, because we use not the shadow, as ye do, while ye are ignorant of, and strangers to the substance? Nay, it may be retorted much more properly, and without deceit upon yourselves, that ye do but pretendedly in words own these things, while indeed ye deny them. So that herein ye are found to be the equivocators, who are contending for the husk, and will needs have it accounted the kernel: and there can be no error more dangerous, than to place the shadow for the substance; for such as so do, are those that trample upon the precious ordinances of Jesus Christ, in which the work of grace is begun and increased. 1670.

Singing of psalms, as used by the saints, allowed.

Page 32. To prove thy assertions particularly, thou beginnest, saying, that singing of psalms is an ordinance of Jesus Christ; whereby, if thou understandest, that singing of psalms was used by the saints, that it is a part of God's worship, when performed in his will, and by his Spirit, and that yet it may be, and is warrantably performed among the saints, it is a thing denied by no Quaker, (so called,) and it is not unusual among them; whereof I have myself been a witness, and have felt of the sweetness and quickening virtue of the Spirit therein, and at such occasions ministered. And that at times David's words may also be used, as the Spirit leads thereunto, and as they suit the condition of the party, is acknowledged without dispute; but that without the Spirit in self-will, not regarding how the thing suits their condition, for a mixed multitude to use and sing the expressions of blessed David, we deny. For that was not the method the apostle spoke of 1 Cor. xiv. 15. When he said, 'I will sing with the Spirit, and I will sing with

1670. the understanding also.' Therefore, though singing of psalms in the true use of them be allowable, yet as used by you, it is abominable, and is a mock worship, because ye cannot deny, but that the persons using it are a mixt multitude, known to be drunkards, swearers, whoremongers, &c. Now such cannot praise God, for they are dead in their sins: and it is the living that praise him, and not the dead. Next, all lying is an abomination: but many times it falls out, that by singing of psalms, the people come to lie in the presence of God, instead of worshipping him, by saying I am not puft up in mind, I have no deceitful heart, I water my couch with tears, and much more of this nature, which were the particular experiences of David, and may be safely said by those that witness the same thing; but as to you that use them, are false and untrue. I say, as thou dost, that though every psalm does not suit our condition, yet in every psalm there may be meditation for edification. But this no ways meets the case; for there is a great difference betwixt meditating upon a psalm, and singing one, whereby we apply ourselves to the Lord, in the words of David, which, unless they suit our condition, cannot be done without a lie.

The dead cannot praise God.

Page 33 and 34. Thou comest to prove, that baptism with water is an ordinance of Jesus Christ, for which thou givest as a reason, *First*, because John baptized with water, and was really sent of God; which thing is not denied, because John's baptism was a baptism with water; but that that was the baptism which was to continue, is the matter in question, to prove which thou bringest in thy

Second reason, that the baptism of Christ, and the baptism of John differed only in circumstance, and not in substance, because they

agree in the author, in the matter, and in the end. To which 1670.

I answer, that though they agreed in the author, that will not conclude them to be one; because by the same reason it might be said, that the Old Testament and the New are one, or that circumcision and baptism are one, for that God was the author of both. As to the matter, they are not one neither; for the one was a baptism with water, and the other a baptism with the Spirit and with fire, as John himself distinguisheth them, Mark i. 8. Now in respect baptism with water can be administered, where the other (to wit with the Spirit) is not, therefore they are not one in substance. They also agree not in the end; for the end of the one, to wit, baptism with water, is but to point or show forth the other. So that as the shadow and the substance differ in their ends, in like manner do these two: for the end of the shadow is but to point to the substance; the end of the substance in this thing being to cleanse and purify the heart, producing that effect to such as it is truly administered unto; but the shadow is frequently administered, and the heart not cleansed; therefore they differ in their ends. Now to show, that they differ in substance, it is written, Acts xix. 2, 4, 5, that there were of the baptism of John, who had not so much as heard of the Holy Ghost, far less received it: now had the baptism of John and the baptism of Christ been one, they could not have had the one, and been altogether ignorant of the other.

The baptism of John and of Christ differ as the shadow and the substance.

For a *Third reason*, thou sayest, that Jesus Christ commanded and enjoined the disciples to baptize, and that baptizing they used water. But where he commands them to baptize, (Matth. xxviii.) there is no command to baptize

1670. them with water, or into water, but into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit: so here is the baptism into the Spirit, but not into outward water. And the apostles were ministers of the Spirit, and ministered the Spirit unto those who believed: and though they used the water baptism at times, yet it rests to be proved, that they did it in obedience to that general command, Matth. xxviii. and not in condescendence to the people, who had received a great esteem of John, and were so nursed up with outward ceremonies, that it was hard suddenly to wean them from such; as they did the like in other cases.

Water-baptism used in condescension to the weak.

Which also serves for answer to thy *Fourth reason*, where thou instances Peter his baptizing Cornelius, after he received the Spirit; for Peter's words imply no command, but only that at that occasion the thing might be done: 'Can any man,' said he, 'forbid water, that they may not be baptized?' Acts x. 47. And though it be said, (verse 48,) 'that he commanded them to be baptized in the name of Christ;' yet it holds forth no command from Christ; only the thing being agreed upon, that it might be done, he did do it. But that the apostles received no commission to baptize with water is clear, from that of Paul, where he saith, 'I thank God, I baptized none of you, but Crispus and Gaius, and the household of Stephanus,' &c. 'For', said he, 'I was not sent to baptize, but to preach the gospel,' 1 Cor. i. 16, 17. Now it is not questioned, but his commission was as large as any of the rest; for he himself said, that he was not inferior to the chiefest of the apostles; but that he thereby denied, he was sent to administer the Holy Spirit, which is the baptism of Christ, is absurd to think.

Water-baptism no commission to the apostles.

For a *Fifth reason*, thou sayest, 'It is the will

of Christ, that this ordinance should continue and abide in the church; because he promised to be with his ministers to the end of the world.' To which I answer, that this promise related to the baptism of the Spirit, which is Christ's baptism, is granted; but that it related to the baptism of water, is denied; for he was with Paul, who yet professed, he was not sent to baptize with water. And whereas some give their meaning to Paul his words, that he was not sent only, or principally to baptize with water, this is an addition to the Scripture words, for which they can show no sufficient ground: and if men will take a liberty to add to Scripture words from their Spirit, they may wrest the Scriptures to defend the worst of opinions, as when it is said, 'thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them,' one was to put this meaning upon it; thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them principally; and therefore would aver, that graven images may be worshipped: this were a most perverse abusing of Scripture. 1670.

Sixthly. Thou sayest, 'These who cast off this ordinance, do what in them lieth to rob themselves of all the excellent ends and uses of it, which are held forth in these Scripture expressions.' Answ. That such who cast off the baptism of Christ by the Spirit, may incur that hazard, it is granted; but that any such thing will follow from the not using of water, is denied, as shall appear by examining the Scriptures cited. The first is, Acts ii. 28. 'Repent and be baptized every one of you for the remission of your sins.' Answ. Here is no mention made of outward water; and repentance and remission of sins may be, and are found without it; and where it is, both these are frequently wanting. But though it should be understood of

1670. outward water, it is spoke but to particulars, and is no universal command. The second is, 1 Pet. iii. 21. 'The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also save us.' But the very following words do give an answer to that, and clear the meaning not to be of water baptism, saying, 'Not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.' The third is, Acts xxii. 16. 'Arise and be baptized, and wash away thy sins.' But that a being baptized with water, is a washing away of sin, thou canst not from hence prove, seeing the contrary is abundantly witnessed. And suppose water baptism were here to be understood; being but spoke to one, it infers no universal command. The fourth is, Ephes. v. verse 26. 'That he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water.' But by water cannot here be understood outward water, but that of the Word and Spirit; for the next verse speaks of presenting it without spot or wrinkle, which the outward water cannot do: see the like place, John iii. 5. 'Unless a man be born of the water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' Now, if by water here were to be understood outward water, it would infer, that water baptism is absolutely necessary to salvation, which thou sayest, thou canst not affirm with Papists. Lastly, thou citest Gal. iii. 7. 'For as many as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ.' But water baptism cannot be here understood, because many, who are baptized with water, never put on Christ, nor bear his image, but the devil's, and are found doing the devil's works. So that none of these Scriptures prove the water baptism to be of continual necessity in the church; for it being but a figure, it was to give place to

Water baptism no universal command, but to particulars.

that one baptism, Ephes. iv. 5. And whereas it is said by some, that the water baptism, and the baptism by the Spirit, is but one; because of that agreement betwixt the signification of the water and the Spirit thereby signified. This is a wresting of this Scripture, as much as if one should say, that all the types, figures and shadows of the Old Testament were one with the substance signified by them, and consequently, that these types are all now to be upheld and used: whereas indeed the coming of the substance ends the figures; among which are the divers baptisms; for so should the place be translated, Heb. ix. 10, 'which were imposed until the time of reformation,' but are no longer binding, since the reformation is come. 1670.

Thou endest this matter with asserting, 'That thou canst safely say, that the Spirit of God concurring with, and blessing his ordinance, it is a profitable means to further our salvation.' But if so be it be no ordinance of Christ, as heretofore is proved, then we cannot expect, that the Spirit will concur with it; but indeed that he is provoked by it, considering the abuses in your administration of it. As first, in administering it to infants, for which ye have no command nor example in Scripture. Next, in causing ignorant people to promise and engage before God, that the children shall forsake the devil, the world, and the flesh, while they themselves be slaves to all the three. And many more abuses; as that whereby ye pretend to enrol children as members of the church of God, which is pure and holy; it being oftentimes an occasion of excess and drunkenness; and is indeed rather like an enrolling under the devil's banner, seeing it is for most part accompanied with doing his work. Therefore, Sprinkling of infants.

1670. it is so far from being hazardous to contemn such an ordinance of man, that it cannot be but hurtful to continue in it.

In the third place, (page 39,) thou comest to prove, that the Lord's supper (so called) is an ordinance of Jesus Christ: for which thou bringest as a first reason, that Jesus Christ was the author and ordainer of it: but that proves not, that it was to be of perpetual continuance. Nor thy second reason; for though the disciples were bid do it in remembrance of him; they were not bid do it always. Neither will Acts ii. verse 42, (which thou bringest as a third proof,) serve thy turn; for by comparing it with verse 46, it is evident, that their breaking of bread was their ordinary eating; for it is said, 'They continued daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking of bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart.' So that this was a daily eating from house to house, and not at all such an eating as yours is, which you have but once, or twice or thrice in a year, or at such set times, as you appoint to yourselves; whereas theirs was an eating from house to house, wherein they received food sufficient to their bodily nourishment. Your eating is not so; you will not have your sacramental bread and wine (so called) to be used in private houses or families, and your eating is rather a mock eating, wherein you do not eat that which is sufficient to the bodily nourishment, as these did, (Acts ii. 42, 46,) every one of you taking a little bread, about the quantity of a bean, wherein ye have no example from the saints, but rather from the Papists, who have their wafers.

The Lord's supper (so called) not perpetual.

The breaking of bread from house to house.

Again, this eating mentioned Acts ii. ver. 42, 46, is conjoined with this, 'That they sold their possessions, and had all things in com-

Having all things in common.

mon;' and so they did eat together daily in common, which is not like your eating. Now if you would make their example and practice your rule, why do ye not sell your possessions, as they did, and have things in common? Also, why do ye not abstain from eating blood, and things strangled, as they did? And why do ye not wash one another's feet, which they were as solemnly commanded to do, as to take and eat? &c. John xiii. 14, 15. If you say, these things were but to continue for a time: what ground have ye to affirm, that these were not always to continue; and those of water baptism and breaking bread were to be always continued? 1670.

For a *Fourth reason*, thou sayest, Paul recommended the practice of this to the Church of Corinth, 1 Cor. xi. 23. Answ. That he recommended it unto them by way of command, we deny; for he delivered unto them no command to practise it, but that which he delivered unto them was the relation of the matter of fact, as what the Lord did in the night wherein he was betrayed. Thou sayest the apostle doth not only here relate the matter of fact, but likewise warrants the frequent use of this ordinance. It is one thing to warrant the use of it, and far another to command the use of it. We do not deny, but the use of it was lawful and warrantable at that time; but we say, it was not commanded unto them, but left or permitted to them, as these words import; 'as often as ye eat,' &c. and again, 'let a man examine himself, and so let him eat.' The words imply no command, but only that they were in the use or practice of it, and being therein, he gives them direction how they might use it, so as not to receive hurt thereby. Now that the Corinthians were weak in many things, and did many

1670. things by permission, is clear by the whole strain of that epistle to them.

Its institution intimates its abolishing.

For a *Fifth reason* thou sayest, thou readest not in Scripture, where Christ and his apostles did abolish it. Answ. If it were so, that then there was no absolute need; for the very institution intimates the abolishing thereof at Christ his coming, as to any necessity by way of command, though afterwards it might have been used by way of permission, being gradually to pass away as did other things. For circumcision was abolished by the coming of Christ, yet it was used after his coming, together with divers other Jewish ceremonies. But as concerning the abolishing or ending of it, see 1 Cor. x. 15, 16, 17. 'I speak as unto wise men, judge ye what I say: the cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? And then he proceeds to show what that bread was: 'for,' saith he, 'we, being many, are one bread.' Now what is that one bread? Is it the outward, or is it the inward and spiritual? If it be the outward, then there is no inward and spiritual bread: or if it be the inward and spiritual, which is that one bread, then that outward bread (as being but a figure) is ceased from being of use, as to any necessity. And this he spoke unto the wise, who saw beyond the shadow and figure unto the substance, the end of it; which was that heavenly bread and refreshment, which Christ himself giveth unto those souls to feed upon, who know the mystery of his in-dwelling in them, which bread is indeed his body. So that now the bread being one, which is the body of Christ, the outward bread hath no place in the supper of the Lord; for

The one bread not many.

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then there should be not one bread, but two; for the outward bread, and the inward bread are two, and not one bread.

And if any say, the outward bread, though it be not properly the body of Christ and thing signified, yet it may be said to be one with it, because of that agreement betwixt the sign and the thing signified. I answer, that is not sufficient, why the outward bread should be called the one bread, or one with the thing signified, otherwise by the same evasion, one might plead for the continuance of all the sacrifices and offerings of rams, and bulls, and goats, and say, they are one with that one offering of Christ, mentioned Heb. x. 14, because they signified that one offering. Now were not this an abominable wresting of the apostle's words, to say, all these outward offerings were the one offering, because they did signify it? For indeed, he does contradistinguish them from this one offering, that because of its being come he infers, they were to pass away. And so it is as plain, that the apostle contra-distinguished betwixt that one bread, and the outward bread, together with the other figure and shadows, according to which, writing to the Colossians, he saith, Coloss. ii. 16, 17. 'Let no man condemn you in meat or drink, or holy day, or new-moon, or Sabbath days, which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ.' And he bids them seek the things above, and not the things which the apostle said, did perish in the using; saying, 'touch not, taste not, handle not,' Coloss. ii. 10, 21, 22, compared with Coloss. iii. 1, 2, which he spoke, because they began to lay too great a weight upon these things, and to hold them up as perpetual, which were to pass away.

1670.

For a *Sixth reason*, thou sayest, the apostles and primitive Christians, who did partake of the Spirit in a large measure did use it. Answ. That they used it for some time, is granted; but that they used it, as of necessity or command, is denied; nor did they use it for themselves, but for the sake of the weak, who could not be suddenly weaned from it.

Christ's second coming is spiritual.

Thy *Seventh reason* is, 'that it is the mind and will of God, that this ordinance should be continued in his church, until the second coming of Christ to judgment.' By which second coming thou and you understand his outward coming; for which you have no ground to say, that he bid them observe it, till his outward coming so many hundred years after: for the Scripture speaks nothing so, but thus; 'ye show forth my death till I come.' Now we say, he did come according to his promise, in a spiritual and inward way of appearance in their hearts, feeding them with the heavenly food and refreshment of his own life and Spirit, which is the substance. And concerning his coming he speaks unto them in many places, particularly John xiv. 18. 'I will not leave you fatherless, I will come unto you. Yet a little while, and the world seeth me not; but ye shall see me.' And verse 23. 'If any man love me he will keep my word, and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him:' which coming was inward, according to verse 20, 'you in me, and I in you.' And those that witnessed him thus come, needed not outward bread and wine to remember them of him; for his own Spirit would bring all things to their remembrance: they need not look upon the figure and shadow, who have the substance. Paul said, 'we look not upon things which are visible;' neither will

God's condescendence to their weakness, who were but newly redeemed from out of a mass of heathenish superstitions, prove a command or a rule to the whole church, or a warrant for any now to be found in the administration thereof; and to hold up the outward figure, do cloak themselves, by shutting out and denying the spiritual appearance of Christ, as he doth immediately reveal himself in his children, in whom he has made manifest the substance, which ends the shadow.

God's condescension to the weak.

For an *Eighth reason* thou sayest, 'that persons, who cast off this ordinance, are their soul's great enemies; for they stand in the way of their soul's spiritual good, in that this is a spiritual nourishing, strengthening ordinance, where spiritual food is offered, and delicate meat and drink for strengthning believers in their journey to heaven.' To which I answer; that those, who neglect and despise having fellowship and communion with God, and laugh and scoff at the useful and necessary duty of waiting upon the Lord in silence, wherein his children feel their souls nourished with the body and blood of Christ, and with spiritual manna, which descends from heaven, and is distilled into their souls, not only once or twice a year, (which are the seasons, wherein that which thou termest spiritual food, is administered among you, but daily and hourly, by the fresh incomes of life, such indeed are to their souls great enemies, though they be sticking to the performance of some external ceremonies, wherein, in former times, God (in condescendence to some, because of the simplicity of their hearts) appeared, and yet even then frequently, and as much and more at other times. But now the sun is set upon those, who will needs be upholding the shadow in

The true nourishment of the soul.

1670. opposition to the substance; therefore their table is become polluted, and may more truly be termed the table of devils, than the communion of the body of Christ, where a mixed multitude of all sorts of wicked persons, living out of God's fear, sit down together, being seemingly in words excommunicated from approaching by the preacher, and yet presently admitted to it by the same. And to turn away from such an ordinance, so called, is no sin nor hurt; but all who become obedient to the light of Christ in them, will find it their place to forsake it, as being such an ordinance, which the apostle said, 'touch not, taste not, handle not, which is all to perish with the using.'

The polluted table.

In the fourth place, page 41, thou wilt prove, 'that the ministry of the word is an ordinance of Jesus Christ: because, first, Christ appointed ministers and pastors to be in his church.' But this cannot be asserted in opposition to the Quakers, who grant the same. And why citest thou Eph. v. 11, and 1, for iv. 8, which, if they prove the continuance of pastors and teachers, prove also the continuance of prophets, evangelists, and apostles; which ye deny. As to the second reason, 'that the ministry is not common to all, but that there be some pastors and teachers,' is also owned by us: yet that hinders not, but that any at a time may speak, when the saints are met together, as the Lord moves by his Spirit: according to 1 Cor. xiv. 31. For it is one thing to be particularly called to the ministry; and another, to be moved to speak at a particular time: which distinction that it was usual among the apostles in the primitive times, is easily observed in the forenamed chapter. For a third reason thou sayest, 'Whom God calleth to the ministry, he doth it either immediately, without the intervention

True minister's call is not of man.

of men, or mediately by men authorised for that purpose:' But for this thou bringest no proof, neither art thou able to make out, that ever God called any under the new covenant mediately to their ministry by men, as they were not to have an immediate call in themselves: though the approbation of good and experienced men in its place is not denied by us, but dearly owned. Fourthly, thou sayest: 'Whoever pretends to an immediate call, they ought for the satisfaction of others to show signs and tokens of their apostleship.' To which I answer: that those who come preaching the gospel, not in speech only, but also in power and in the Holy Ghost, and in the evidence, and demonstration thereof, (as it is 1 Thess. xv. and 1 Cor. ii. iv.) give sufficient proof, that they are called of God, though they come not with outward miracles. And though Paul came to some with miracles, where he preached the gospel, yet many believed, who saw no outward miracle. Also many of the prophets wrought no miracle, nor John the Baptist: and though some miraculous things came to pass about his conception and birth, those do not of themselves prove him to be a prophet; for miraculous things and miracles were wrought upon many, who were no prophets. If miracles be necessary to evince a man sent of God, he must come with these miracles before the people, which John did not. Nor did Jonas come with any miracle to convince the Ninevites, but simply declared his message. And John Calvin asserteth, that there is no need of miracles; and yet he maintaineth, that in his day God raised up apostles or evangelists, saying, 'That it was needful such should be, to bring back the poor people that had gone astray after anti-christ.' Neither did any Protestants pre-

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The proof of the same call.

Outward miracles.

Calv. l. 4. c. 3. Inst.

1670. tend to any miracles, they pleading against the Papists, that there was no absolute need of any, in respect they preached not a new gospel, but that which was already confirmed with miracles by Christ and his apostles. And so thy plea against us here is the same, that was urged by the Papists against the primitive Protestants. 'An evil and adulterous generation,' said Christ, 'seeketh after miracles:' and though miracles should be given, they who will not believe the testimony of the Spirit of God in their consciences, bearing witness to the truth, will also not believe, because of miracles; as we see plainly in the Jews. And whereas thou sayest, 'John's immediate call is evident, by the special predictions both of Malachi and Isaias concerning him.' So are there many special predictions concerning the Lord, his pouring forth of his Spirit upon many in these latter days, to prophesy or minister, as the Spirit should put words into their mouths. And as for these Scriptures, Tit. i. 5. Acts xiv. 23, which thou bringest in the fifth place, they prove not, that those elders had not the authority and call of the Spirit of God in themselves. And whereas in the sixth place thou sayest; 'Though ministers be set apart and ordained by men, yet their ministry is not from men, but from God:' I answer; where the inward call and authority of the Spirit of God is not witnessed, it cannot be said to be of God. And though Moses be said to consecrate Aaron, yet it doth not follow, that Aaron had no immediate call from God. Seventhly, thou sayest, 'the ministry is so necessary, that it is the will of Jesus Christ, that it should continue unto the end of the world,' Eph. v. 12, 13. But thy proof from that Scripture is altogether impertinent as to you, who believe not, that the saints can

Ministry perfecting the saints.

be perfected in this life, seeing the ministry is given for the perfecting of them. And that this perfection is on earth, is clear from the following verse; 'that henceforth we be no more as children tossed to and fro:' for in the other life there is no hazard of being so tossed. And if the ministry perfected not men in this life, it no where perfecteth them; for in the other life it hath no operation upon them. The law and priesthood thereof was abolished, because it made nothing perfect; and if the gospel ministry should not make perfect, it should also be abolished. And seeing your ministry perfecteth not, it is not the true ministry of the gospel; as indeed it is not, for it standeth not in the power of God, nor is it exercised in the will and motion of God; your ministry being such, that the whole *esse*, or *being* of it may be without saving grace, or true holiness; you expressly affirming, that holiness is not necessary to the being of a minister, but that a man may be a minister of the gospel, who ought to be received and heard, though he have not the least grain of holiness. Eighthly, thou sayest, 'they who cast off the ministry of the word, wrong their own souls,' &c. Answ. If it be understood of the ministry of Christ, it is granted; but if of yours, it is denied. 1670.

In the fifth place, page 44, thou wouldest prove, 'that the Lord's people are under a tie and engagement, to keep the first day of the week for a sabbath.' For a first reason thou sayest, 'the fourth commandment requires the keeping holy of one day in seven. But as it requires the observation of one day of seven, so it expressly instanceth that day to be the seventh, which day ye keep not. Wherefore as to the second reason, if the command be moral and

1670. perpetual, as thou callest it, it ought to be kept in every point of it, which ye not doing, therein condemn yourselves. But the outward sabbath, or the keeping one day of the week for a sabbath, is not perpetual but abolished, together with the new moons and other feasts of the Jews. See Coloss. ii. 16, 17. 'Let no man judge you in meat or drink, or holy day, or new moon, or sabbath days, which are a shadow of things to come:' see also Rom. xiv. which plainly holds forth all days under the gospel, to be alike; and said Paul to the Galatians, 'Ye observe days,' &c. 'I am afraid of you.' For a third reason hou sayest, that Jesus Christ plainly intimates the continuance of a sabbath, because that, speaking of the desolation of Jerusalem, he said, 'pray that your flight be not in the winter, nor on the sabbath day.' Answ. But that sabbath day is neither here nor elsewhere said to be the first day of the week. The Jews were to flee at that time; and Christ holds forth their difficulties, that it should be grievous unto them, to be put to it to flee on their sabbath day, or be killed; for they kept it in the strictness of it. But as for any of your sabbath keepers, they are not so strait laced, but they will do less necessary things, than to flee from a danger on that day. And as the outward Jew desireth, that he may not be put to flee on his outward sabbath, so the inward Jew in spirit desireth much more, that he may keep his sabbath, which is his spiritual rest in Christ, that the enemy oft seeketh to break, to cause him to flee on his sabbath day: but this to you is a mystery, viz. what the sabbath of them who believe, is: Heb. iv. 9, 10. 'There remaineth therefore, a sabbatism to the people of God; and he that is entered into his rest hath

The outward sabbath not perpetual.

ceased from his own works, as God did from his.' 1670.

And that this sabbath or rest is not an outward day, is plain, because in the next verse he saith, 'Let us labour therefore to enter into that rest.' But if it were an outward day, it might be easily entered into; but this is such a rest as none can enter into, who hearken not to the voice of the Lord, by believing and obeying it. For a fourth reason, thou sayest, though ye keep not the same day the Jews did, ye have the same authority for keeping your day, that they had for theirs. 'Hence this day, that we keep,' sayest thou, 'is called the Lord's day, Rev. i. 10, it being set apart by the Lord for his service, and as a special memorial of his resurrection.' Answ. But for all this there is no probation at all, but mere assertions: if ye have the same authority, produce it, and let us see it. John was in the spirit on the Lord's day, therefore the first day of the week ought to be kept; how hangs this together? Prove that John meant the first day of the week. We read much in Scripture of the day of the Lord, which is the Lord's day; but no where do find it called the first day of the week, or any other natural day, for it is spiritual. And as God called the natural light day, so he calleth the spiritual light of his appearance, (where the sun of righteousness ariseth with healing under his wings,) day. And this is the day of the Lord, wherein his people rejoice, and are glad. And whereas thou sayest, it is set apart by the Lord, as a special memorial of his resurrection. This is thy naked assertion, without any shadow of proof. And if thou wilt say, that therefore it is to be a holy day, because he rose on it, is not this a fair inlet to all the Popish holy days? If ye keep

The Lord's day not the first day of the week.

Popish holy days.

1670. one day for his resurrection, why not one day for his conception, another for his birth, another for the annunciation of the angel, another for his being crucified, another for his ascension? and then we shall not want holy days in good store. 'Fifthly thou sayest; who oppose the sabbath-day, sin against mercy, and equity, and justice.' Answ. It is granted: but who oppose your day, which ye have made or imagined to be the sabbath, do no sin against any of the foresaid; if in other things they keep unto the rule of mercy and justice. First, they sin not against mercy, if through all the days of the week they be found in that, which is for the good of themselves, and their neighbours; not laying too heavy burthens upon their own souls, by excessive care and labour in outward things, nor yet forcing their bodily strength beyond the rule of mercy and love, nor imposing any things upon either servants or cattle, contrary to mercy. For if the law required mercy even in these things, much more the gospel; so that we grant, times of rest are to be given unto servants and beasts, and mercy is to be showed unto them more than under the law. And thus is the end of the Sabbath answered, which was made for man; yea, this is indeed to keep the sabbath, 'to undo every burden, and to let the oppressed go free,' both as to the inward, and the outward. And the Lord's people have frequent times, more than once a week, wherein, laying aside their outward affairs for a season, they may and do meet together to wait upon the Lord, and be quickened, and refreshed, and instructed by him, and worship him in his Spirit, and may be useful unto one another in exhortation, or admonition, or any other way, as the Lord shall furnish. And such, who find any distem-

The true sabbath.

per upon their minds, through letting them go forth too much upon outward things, may find the Lord allowing them any other day or time, no less than that, to get their hearts reduced into a right frame. And it were sad, if the Lord had only allowed but one day of seven unto this effect. The Lord inviteth and alloweth the weary and distempered, (who love to be cured of their distempers,) to come unto him every day: and as for those who abide not in a due care every day, to have their hearts ordered aright, but let their minds go forth excessively in outward occasions all the week, they provoke the Lord to shut them out from access to him upon the first day. And our souls do oft bless the Lord, in allowing us many times of refreshment and strengthening, to the establishing and confirming us in his love and life, and disburdening our minds of earthly things much more frequently, than in one day of seven. And as for sinning against justice, they cannot be charged with it, who give up unto the Lord not only one day of seven, but all the seven, even all the days of their life unto his service: for equity and justice calleth upon us to spend all the seven in his service, that our hearts may continually be exercised in his fear and love; and whatever we do, we may do it to him and in him. And as for the first day of the week, we meet together even on that day, (as we do on other days,) according to the practice of the primitive Christians, to wait upon the Lord and worship him; but to plead so obstinately as ye do, that the fourth commandment bindeth to a particular observation of that day, and yet to be found so slack in the observation of it, as you generally are, is such an inconsistency, as the Quakers cannot own. And so whereas thou wouldst confine the

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The first day of the week.

1670. Lord his giving rest and comfort to the souls of his people, and the falling of manna to the first days, calling them spiritual market-days, as if there were no other; we cannot own it: knowing, that the Lord giveth rest and comfort every day, and causeth the manna plentifully to fall every day to those that walk in his fear, and wait upon him: and he has no such circumscribed market day, as thou dreamest of. But that ye (I mean the priests) make a market day of that day (so that ye may call it your day, as thou sayest page 44, our day) we know, wherein ye sell and vend your Babylonish commodities, and will be forcing and compelling all to come, and buy of them; or if not, to send you money, whether they receive ought or not; or else ye will endeavour by the help of the magistrate to have them punished. So that it is made manifest, that it is only the inventions of men, that we disown, and not any of the ordinances of Jesus Christ.

The priest's market day.

Page 49. Thou grantest, the word [original sin] is not found in Scripture; and yet thou pleadest for it, because (sayest thou) the thing intended by it is contained and expressed in Scripture. Answ. We deny, that the thing by you intended, is exprest in Scripture, to wit, 'that all infants are sinners before God, only for Adam's sin; and that there are reprobate infants, who are sent to hell only for Adam's first sin:' this we deny; nor do the Scriptures cited by thee prove it, Psal. 51, 'Behold I was conceived in sin.' But first, if this place should prove the infant guilty of any sin, it should be of the sin of its own immediate parents; 'in iniquity did my mother bring me forth.' Now you say, the infant is not guilty of the sin of its own immediate parents, but only of Adam's and Eve's first sin; of which this Scripture speaks

Infants not guilty of Adam's sin.

1670.

nothing. 2. It doth not say, I was conceived and brought forth a sinner, as you would have it; why make you infants guilty of Adam's sin, and not the sins of their immediate parents? Now it is granted, that there is a seed of sin derived unto Adam's posterity; but we say, none become guilty of sin before God, until they close with this evil seed: and in them who close with it, it becomes an origin, or fountain of evil thoughts, desires, words and actions, which are their sins who close with it. But that the guilt of Adam's first sin lies at the door of infants, who never actually sinned, we deny. For a second proof thou citest, Rom. v. 12, alleging it should be rendered, that in Adam all sinned. But it is no such matter: for the words, however they be truly translated, can never be so rendered, in Adam all sinned: the strictest translation of the words is thus, [upon which all have sinned, or, in which all have sinned.] They hold forth, how that Adam by his sin gave an entrance to sin in the world, and death by sin; and so upon this occasion all others have sinned, to wit, actually in their own person; so that all who ever sinned actually, it was upon the occasion of Adam's sin. For the apostle is here speaking not of infants, who are not capable of any law, but of such as have a law, and act against it. Yea, from the apostle's words in the other following verse, it is plain that sin is not imputed to infants. For saith he, 'sin is not imputed where there is no law.' Now there is no law given to infants as such; for they are not capable of it. What the law saith, it saith to them, who have in more or less some exercise of understanding, which infants new born have not. Or, if the words be translated [in which all have sinned] that word *which* hath a nearer relative

The seed of sin.

No law, no transgression.

1670. than Adam, to wit, death: for the seed of sin is justly called death, because where it is joined unto and obeyed, it killeth: and so in this seed all have sinned, who ever did actually sin. And as for the 18th verse of Rom. v. which is commonly used to prove infants guilty and under condemnation, it is not rightly translated; for the word judgment, or condemnation, or guilt, is not at all in the Greek; but those, who have drunk in this imagination, have added this word to Scripture: so bending and bowing the Scripture to their false opinion. And whereas thou sayest, 'we were all in the loins of Adam;' and therefore wouldst infer, that infants are sinners in him, or guilty of his sin: I say, it follows not more than to say, we are guilty of all the sins of our forefathers, because we have been in their loins. Again, thou labourest to prove, that infants are sinners, because they are subject to pains, diseases and death. But this proveth them not to be sinners, as it proveth not that the earth is a sinner, or that the herbs and trees of the field are sinners; for even these things have suffered by Adam's fall a great decay. And as for the outward death of those that are saved from eternal death, it is rather a sleep than a death; as Christ said concerning Lazarus, 'he sleepeth:' and concerning the maid, 'she is not dead, but sleepeth.' And therefore that Scripture, Rom. vi. 23, cannot be applied to them, who die not or perish not eternally: for though the saints lay down the outward man, it is not as the punishment or reward of their sins, which are forgiven, and from which they are delivered: and so the sting of death being taken away in those who are saved, it is not that death, which is the wages of sin. And seeing the apostle said unto the saints, that all things were theirs,

The outward and eternal death.

even death, it cannot be, that their death should be reckoned the wages of their sin. How many of the blessed martyrs have looked upon their suffering a most violent death for truth and righteousness as a gift of God? How then could it be said to be the wages of their sins; which implies, as if their sins were not all freely forgiven? 1670.

Page 48. From this doctrine, (thou sayest,) it will follow, first, that all infants, that die in their infancy, are saved; and though charity may be pleaded for this opinion, (thou sayest,) yet what Scripture can be alleged for it? Answ. If I should bring that Scripture, 'Suffer little children to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven;' it will much more naturally flow from the words, than that they ought to be sprinkled, which is the meaning ye put upon them. And whereas some object, it is not said of them but of such; I answer, but that such includeth them and all others, who are like them in harmlessness: otherwise, if they had been excluded, he would not have given it as a reason, why he bid suffer them to come unto him. But besides, the 18th chapter, verse 20, of Ezekiel is a plain proof: 'The soul that sinneth shall die; the son shall not bear the father's iniquity:' unless that the son be found acting the same iniquity, and continuing in it, for then he visits the iniquities of the fathers upon the children. Now thou hast produced no Scripture to prove that any infants do perish: and indeed, there is nothing in Scripture for it, but against it. Secondly, thou sayest it would follow, that infants dying in their infancy, stood not in need of Christ, as a saviour, for he is a saviour to save his people from their sins. Answ. He is a saviour not only to save from sins, but

Infants dying, how saved.

Infants saved from sin.

1670. also from the consequences of sin, and not only from the fruits and branches of it, but from the seed; and they are saved from sin, who are not suffered to fall into it. And so these infants, whom the Lord takes in their infancy, that they might not sin, are saved from it. It is salvation, to be kept from falling into a pit as truly, as to be taken out of it after the falling in. And as for that Scripture, it maketh against you, Matthew i. 12. For it speaketh of a salvation from sin, whereas you dream of a salvation in your sins: nor doth Rom. vii. 24, speak of infants; so thy citing it here is impertinent. And though there be a time, wherein there is a crying out for deliverance from the body of sin and death; yet there is also a time of deliverance from it; even before the laying down of the outward body, as is plain from Rom. vi. 6, 7, knowing this, that the old man is crucified, and he that is dead, is freed from sin: yet we acknowledge, there is great occasion to be low, and to be in great fear and care, lest sin, which is once crucified, revive again.

Page 48. Thou chargest us, as holding a falling away from regeneration, and as agreeing therein with Arminians. But if the Arminians hold a falling away from regeneration, we hold no such matter. For those who fall away, never attained unto the regeneration, and so were never the children of God, but only were in the way to it, by having attained to some beginnings of faith, from which some may and have fallen away. For that it is expressly said by Christ; some believe, and afterwards fall away: and some depart from the faith, and make shipwreck of it: and some, who have tasted the good work of God, and the powers of the world to come, fall away.

The falling away from faith is of themselves.

1670.

These and many such instances are in Scripture; nor do the Scripture cited by thee prove the contrary, as Philip. i. 6, which is to be understood no otherwise, than as the condition is performed upon their part. As Heb. iii. 14. 'We are made partakers of Christ, if we hold fast the principle of our establishment,' (or whereby we are established,) firm unto the end; and so these who hold fast this principle, witness the work which God hath begun in them, to be carried on until the day of Christ, even till he be completely formed in them, and they in him. It may be supposed, that Paul was as confident, that God would perfect the work begun in himself, and yet he supposeth, it might be otherwise, where he saith, 'lest preaching the gospel to others, I myself become a cast-away.' And though some fall away, the dishonour of the foolish builder cannot be cast upon God, but upon them who fall away: for it standeth very well with the wisdom and power of God, to suffer them to fall away, who knowingly and wilfully depart from the Lord, and will not concur with him in the work, as subordinate instruments; but resist him, though he invite and call, yea, draw them. The next thou citest, is 1 Pet. 15. Answ. Such as are so kept by the power of God, it is through faith; but as they abide not in that power through faith, but wander from it, they fall, and cannot but fall away. And as for Jerem. xxxii. 40, cited by thee, it should be translated thus: 'I will put my fear into their hearts, that they may not depart from me:' so Junius and Tremellius's version; or, 'not to depart from me,' as the Septuagint hath it. Now to say, 'that they may not depart,' is one thing; and to say, 'they cannot depart,' is another. Yet where the fear of God comes so to be raised and

1670. established in the heart over all, we believe such cannot depart; but every one is not attained to that state, where yet the fear of God may have some place. And as touching these other Scriptures, John x. 27, 28, 29, and John xiii. 1, and 1 John i. 29, they speak of those, who are come to a thorough regeneration, who (we do believe) can never fall away; as being begot in the perfect nature of the elect sheep and children. Nor doth it follow from this, that one may be a child of God to-day, and a child of the devil, to-morrow; for these, who are once properly the children of God through a true and thorough regeneration, can never become the children of the devil, nor be cast out of God's special love, that he beareth to his own children. For to end this matter, thou sayest, it is safer to question the truth of the graces of those that fall away, than the doctrine of the perseverance of the saints. But dost thou look upon the Quakers, as having fallen away? If thou dost, how comes it, that thou bespeakest them in thy epistle, as those who have had real grace, saying to them, 'did ye attain to that knowledge of, and acquaintance with God, which ye have in the use of ordinances?' And again, 'ye did run well, who did hinder you?' And again, 'why should they asperse these ordinances, which have been the means of their conversion?' Or are these words only a Joab's kiss, by which thou wouldst kiss the Quakers, while in the mean time thou hast a sword hid under thy cloak, to strike them through under the fifth rib? But the Quakers are aware of thee, and having on the armour of God, are out of thy reach.

In the last place, page 50, thou undertakest to prove, that our errors (as thou callest them)

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tend to irreligiousness and atheism; because they tend to take away the worship due to God. But it hath been heretofore proved, that we deny not true worship, but only your idolatrous superstitious worships, which cannot truly be called the worship of God. Our way, thou sayest, tends to irreligiousness, because frequently we go to meat, and come from it, without seeking a blessing, or returning thanks, which is to deny God a part of that worship, which is due to him, 1 Tim. iv. 4, 5. Answ. To receive the gifts and benefits of God with thanksgiving, and to witness it blessed and sanctified to us by the word and prayer, is owned by us; and to know this so, without taking off the hat, or using of formal speaking of words, (though it be a thing frequently used by us also,) tends to no irreligiousness. For it is a thing usual amongst us, when we sit down to eat, to wait upon the Lord for some time, that we may feel his presence, and know ourselves stated in his fear, to which the blessing is; and as we there stand, if any outward expressions be required of any, then in God's fear they may utter them; and this is to know the blessing indeed, and to be in the place that is blessed. But for people that are conversing out of God's fear, stated in a light airy spirit, not only many times laughing and scoffing, but some times even blaspheming, presently, so soon as the meat cometh, to clap off their hats, and speak a few words in a custom; and so soon as they have done, fall to their former work again: is not this atheism and irreligiousness? For if such did think of God aright, and knew what it were to fear him, they would be far from addressing themselves in such postures unto him; neither could they be so impudent, as to expect a blessing from him, while

Prayer before meat.

1670. they stand in that condition, to which the curse is annexed.

In the second place, page 51, thou sayest; doth not the taking men off from prayer, tend to irreligiousness and atheism? Now you teach, we must not pray in private, nor in families without an impulse; therefore—Answer. This is no sound argument. To take men off from prayer, tends to irreligiousness, is granted; but to say that a man cannot or ought not to pray without the Spirit's drawing and motion, which you commonly name by impulse, (a word which common people do not understand,) hath no such tendency, or that it takes any off from prayer, truly so called, is denied. For hath that a bad tendency, which takes men off from such prayers, as are abomination and are not true prayers, but hypocritical and deceitful? as all such prayers are that are performed without the help of the Spirit. We say, whosoever can pray to the Lord indeed, let them pray, we are not to forbid them; but that any can pray without the Spirit, that we deny; according to 1 Cor. xiv. 15. 'I will pray with the Spirit,' &c. And Rom. viii. 26. 'Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities, for we know not what we should pray for, as we ought.' Now if we know not what to pray for without the Spirit, how can we pray without it? Paul durst not adventure upon this duty, without the assistance of the Spirit, (yea, he said, no man could say, that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost,) but here an arrogant generation will needs be praying without it; which yet is not prayer: and such families, where this only is used, cannot be truly said to call upon God, while such truly may be said so to do, that wait upon the Lord, and stand in his fear, and bring forth the fruits

Hypocritical prayers an abomination.

of righteousness; though they be not so much in the external signification of words; which also at times is found in our families, as the Lord requireth it, and giveth utterance. And whereas thou sayest, 'that thou believest it will be found, that some of us, for the space of a whole year, have not so much as once bowed a knee, to call upon God in their families;' what ground hast thou for this thy belief? May they not bow their knees in their families, though it be hid from the observation of malicious eyes, who may so asperse them? May they not pray in secret, and be seen of the Father to pray, according to Matth. vi. 6. though they cannot be seen by the eyes of malicious spies? And where a public testimony in words is required, it is also given; nor do we know any friends of truth, who have any, whom they can join with in prayer in the family, but do meet together in the family, and wait together, breathe together, and pray together; and that much oftener than thou insinuates, sometimes without, and sometimes with the outward signification of words: so that we return this thy charge, as false and malicious. Thou sayest; 'if this impulse be denied for years, men all that while (according to us) must not pray.' But here thou speakest as one wholly unacquainted with the ways and motions of the Spirit, to suppose such a case which cannot be; for the breathings and motions of the Spirit, and especially unto prayer, are very frequent unto those who wait for them, and are as necessary unto the children of God, as their daily bread, yea and more; which the Father withholdeth not, but giveth in due season. But many times the spirit of prayer is felt to move, and is answered, when there is no liberty given to speak words in the hearing of others. Nor is thy other sup-

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Prayers in secret, without words.

Breathings of the Spirit frequent.

1670.

position less vain and foolish; 'that if a man were at the gates of death, and in danger of present drowning, yet without an impulse (as thou callest it) he must not adventure to cry to God for mercy and help.' For suppose he did cry without all help of the Spirit, what would it avail him? Would it have any acceptance with God? Show us wherever a spiritless prayer was accepted of God or required? Nay, it is a vain oblation, which is expressly forbidden; and it is expressly commanded, that praying be always in the Spirit, Eph. vi. 18. And as for the saints, when they are dying, or in any difficulty, we know, the Spirit of prayer will never be wanting, to breathe through them at such occasions, and to give words, as there is a service for them.

Prayer without the Spirit avails not.

But further thou allegest, that this principle of ours leadeth to woful security, for what need you be disquieted for refraining prayer before God, thou sayest, or any other piece of service, seeing you have salve at hand to heal this sore, and that is the want of an impulse? Answ. If any fall into security and refrain prayer, is it not that our principle leadeth into it? for our principle leadeth out of all security into continual watching unto prayer, and waiting upon the motions of the Spirit of God. Now if any feel not these motions, they are nothing the less guilty, because by their neglect they provoke the Lord to withhold them, and render themselves out of frame to feel or entertain them; and thus, who neglect the worship of God, are justly under condemnation; and if they have peace, it is but a false peace, which will soon fail them. And as for our peace, we have found it to be great peace, but we have not come by it after such a way, as thou dost falsely and rashly judge, as by

True peace with God.

neglecting the worship of God, and stopping the mouth of conscience, but by being turned to that living word and law of God in our hearts, by loving it and cleaving to it: yea, by receiving the reproofs and chastisements of God through it, and submitting to the judgment of it, when it hath been as a hammer, and as a sword, and as a fire in us, breaking in pieces and destroying all that false, unsound peace, we had created to ourselves in the day of our alienation from the light of God in us. And unto peace we are come through great tribulation of soul, even such as thou art a stranger unto, being ignorant both of the one and the other: and so hast therein showed thy folly in judging what thou knowest not. And as for woful security, we know not where it more abounds, than among hypocritical professors, who, with the whore in the Proverbs, offer up their sacrifices of morning and evening prayers, and thereby create a peace to themselves, though they let their hearts go a whoring after their lusts all the day. Did not the Pharisees pray much outwardly, and were much in other outward practices of devotion, and so created a false peace and esteem to themselves? And can you deny, but that there are many such among you, who make up a false peace to themselves, by leaning upon their outward performances? Now what if I should charge this upon your principle, wouldst thou think it fair dealing? 1670. The whore's peace.

Thirdly, page 52, thou sayest, 'Doth not that opinion tend to atheism, which rendereth mortification of sin, even in this life, useless, &c.?' Answ. Here thou dealest disingenuously. Is mortification of sin useless, where the end of it is attained? And is not perfection the end of mortification? Again thou sayest, the opinion

1670. of a sinless perfection wounds the very vitals of religion. Answ. Who could have expected that one that pretends to religion, would have been so brazen faced, as to put such an expression in print? What is the end of true religion, but to lead out of sin? Do the vitals of religion consist in sinning, or in not sinning? If it consist in sinning, then they that sin most, are most religious: but if it consist in not sinning, and keeping the commandments of God without sin, then to plead for such a thing as attainable, hurteth not the vitals of religion. What! cannot the saints live better without sin, than with it? Yea surely, they can live well without that, which is a burthen, and as death unto their life. They whose life is in sin, cannot live but in sin; but the saint's life is not in sin, but in righteousness. And thy consequences are vain and foolish; as 1. that men need not pray for pardon of sin; 2. that they need not the blood of Christ, to cleanse them from sin; 3. that they need not repentance: for we grant, that all have sinned, and so need those things, by which they may attain unto perfection; and who witness perfection, are come to witness the true use of these things; and as the blood of Christ cleanseth from all the sin, so it preserveth clean, and such have received the forgiveness of their sins, being turned from them unto righteousness, which is the fulfilling of repentance. And whereas thou sayest; 'bring me to the particular person, that is sinless, and I shall apply to him that of the apostle,' 1 John i. 8. Thou showest openly thy confusion; for by thy applying to him that of the apostle, wouldst thou infer a sinless man to be a sinning man? that is a contradiction: but though we should bring a man to thee, that is made free from sin by the power of God, thou couldst

The end of true religion to lead out of sin.

1670.

no more judge of him, than a blind man of colours. And as to 1 John i. 8, it is a plain case; if we say, we have no sin, and have fellowship with him, and yet walk in darkness, (as verse 6,) then we deceive ourselves: so it is conditional, otherwise it would contradict what follows, verse 9, and chap. ii. 4, and chap. iii. 6, 9. As to that of sabbath, it is answered above.

Page 53. Your religion (sayest thou) will be welcome to the worst and wickedest of men; for you will please them exceedingly, in crying down of ordinances, the observation of the sabbath, and private and family prayers, &c. Answ. We cry down no ordinance of God, but your hypocritical ways; and we know no worse men, than those hypocrites, whom we are so far from pleasing, in crying down their hypocritical prayers and performances, that they fret and gnash at us with their teeth: and if they could get their will would tear us in pieces, for witnessing against those things. And they are very blind who see not, that the denying of those things in shadow and bare formality, and establishing them in the power and substance, can no ways be acceptable to the wicked, but most unpleasing to hypocrites, who can perform the one, but not the other. But now let us examine, whether your principles, or ours, be most acceptable to the wicked and hypocrites. Wicked men and hypocrites love well to hear that they can never be free from their sins in this life, and that they must always sin. 2. They love well to hear, to be justified by Christ without them, and his righteousness without, but not by him and his righteousness within them. 3. They love well to hear, that the words without them are the only rule, which they can wrest according to their

Crying down hypocrisy pleases not the hypocrite.

Hypocrites and wicked men's principles of the priest's.

1670. own corrupt inclinations; but they love not to hear, that the word and light of God within, is to be their rule, which they cannot wrest, nor bend. 4. They love well to hear, that they may use the fashions and customs of this world, bow and cringe, and give and receive the honour of this world. 5. They love to hear they may use sports, and games, and plays. 6. To wear laces, and ribbons, and gold rings, and other superfluity. 7. They love well to hear, that men must not expect to hear God immediately, being such as those who said, let not God speak unto us. 8. They love well to hear, that water-baptism and giving of bread and wine, are the ordinances of God, and the true baptism and supper; for then they think they are Christians, if they partake of these outward things; and they are mad against us, who call them shadows. And as for their observation of that called the Sabbath, we find none more plead for it, than profane light men and women; for they can easily dispense to hear a man talk for an hour or two, and then have all the rest of the day to spend in idleness, vain communication, and frequenting the ale-house, and decking themselves with vain apparel. 10. They love to hear, that they may be members of the church, though they have no infallible evidence of holiness. 11. They love to hear of your doctrine of election and reprobation. 12. And of your doctrine, once in grace, and ever in grace, whereby they feed themselves in presumption and carelessness. Many other particulars could be mentioned, but these may serve enough to show, that your principles are pleasing to the wicked and hypocrites, and ours displeasing. Next to come to experience; where are the drunkards, the swearers, the whoremongers, the envious li-

centious persons, the scorners, the mockers, whether are they yours, or ours? If our principles be so acceptable unto them, why do they not enrol themselves among us? Why do they oppose us at our meetings at Aberdeen, and elsewhere, and curse and rant, and use all manner of filthy communication, and are ready to stone us in the streets? And none more fond so doing, than that young fry and spawn of the priesthood, who are bred at your nurseries of learning. Now whose church members are those, yours or ours? Is not the proverb verified of you: 'Fowls of one feather flock together?' 1670.

Thou closest with addressing thyself to God with a notorious lie, saying; 'Follow with thy blessing, that which *we* have been about:' meaning the Quaker and thyself, but it was none of the Quaker's work; the dialogue not being any real conference; is not this to deride, and take the name of God in vain?

1670. *Some Things of Weighty Concernment, proposed in meekness and love by way of* QUERIES *to the serious consideration of the inhabitants of Aberdeen; which also may be of use to such, as are of the same mind with them elsewhere in this nation. Added by way of* APPENDIX *to* 'Truth cleared of Calumnies.'

Question 1.

WHETHER it be anywise warrantable in common equity, or true Christianity, for any person or persons to take liberty, both in pulpit and print, to speak against a people as dangerous and heretical, and yet wholly debar that people from vindicating themselves in either of these ways, so far as they can? Or whether it can be supposed, that any persons, except they wholly give up themselves implicitly to believe, the accusers can make a true judgment in that case upon the accused, especially considering the maxim of law, *Quicunque inauditâ alterâ parte*, &c. i. e. He that without hearing both parties pronounceth judgment, though he decide the right upon the matter, hath not done the part of a just judge. To which add the consideration of these passages of Scripture, 1 Thess. v. 21. Prov. xviii. 13. Isai. xl. 2.

Quest. 2. Whether then it was not contrary to the laws both divine and human, for the priests in Aberdeen to importune the magistrates, to make search for that book lately published in vindication of the people called Quakers? Or whether such a practice hath any warrant, except what flows originally from the Spanish inquisition, as being directly contrary to equity, and to the Scriptures above mentioned?

1670.

Quest. 3. Whether also it was not both antiscriptural and popish in G. M. to prohibit his hearers from reading of that book, by comparing it with poison? Whether that was not to keep people in darkness, and dependence upon him? Or with how little reason could he desire such a thing, considering he asserted it to contain an ample confession of all those errors he had charged them with? And if so, whether it be likely, that it could prove dangerous, the errors being so gross and monstrous, which by him and his brethren are charged upon that people, that their confessing them would rather scare people, than engage any to like them?

Quest. 4. And whether G. M. his bidding people abstain from that book as poison, without trial of what is in it, be not like unto the Papists' way, who bid their neighbours abstain from the Protestants' books as poison? And whether may not poison be tried (though not by eating it) in a way that is not hazardous to the trial, especially seeing, that which some may call poison, may be afterward found, by sound trial, to be good and wholesome food, yea, medicine to expel such poisonable doctrine as your priests infuse into people?

Quest. 5. And seeing G. M. bids his hearers abstain from the Quakers' words as poison, doth he not endanger such to be poisoned, whom he sends or allows to come to our meetings to hear what is spoke? And what knoweth G. M. but his spies may be touched, so that it may be said, as it was then, is Saul also among the prophets?

Quest. 6. And seeing G. M. counts our words as poison, why doth he bring them forth so much among his hearers, if he thinks he gives strong antidotes against them? I have heard some of his own hearers say, that that which

1670. he calls the poison, wrought more effectually to persuade even out of his own mouth, than all his antidotes could do to dissuade?

Quest. 7. Whether the latter part of that allegence of G. M. (viz. 'that all they had charged on the Quakers, was confessed to in that book') be not a manifest untruth, in respect the greatest charges alleged by him against the Quakers, are therein utterly denied? As for instance, the matter of Pelagianism in page 25, the matter of popery in page 34, and of Arminianism, page 65, &c.

Quest. 8. Whether the said G. M. hath not manifested very much deceit, in saying also publicly, that the said book asserts it, not only to be a thing easy, but pleasant for wicked people, to keep holy the sabbath day, and to perform the spiritual duties commanded to be performed thereon, unless he understands them to be simply the disposing to hear a man talk for an hour or two, and to have all the rest of the day to spend in idleness, vain communication, and frequenting the ale house, &c. which are the words mentioned page 72?

Quest. 9. Whether it be any way unsuitable to the law of charity, or to the meek Spirit of Christ, to use plain and downright dealing, calling a lie a lie? Or whether any be to be blamed for so doing, considering the practice of all the prophets, and of Christ, and of his apostles, how sharply they dealt with false teachers, as may appear by the Scriptures? Isai. lvi. 11. Lev. xxiii. to verse 33. Ezek. xxxiv. Hos. iv. from 6 to 10. Ibid. v. 1. Mich. iii. 5. Matt. iii. 7. John viii.

Quest. 10. Whether then they be not prejudiced, who accuse the Quakers for using the same terms, seeing they are willing to make the application manifest, by comparing the

fruits of the present pretended preachers with those that were of old? as for instance, whether it be a breach of either moral civility, or Christian meekness to say; John Menzies lied, in asserting Robert Barclay to have been educated in a Jesuit college; seeing it is utterly false? 1670.

Quest. 11. And whether David Lyall may not be judged more guilty of foolish rashness and envy, than any of us of the breach of civility to reprove him for it, who, that he might not want something to say against the Quakers, alleged a notorious untruth upon God, in saying, that the God of heaven shut the mouths of all the Quakers, that not one word was spoken among them at their last monthly meeting, the 3d of the 11th month; which divers of their own church members can witness to be a *lie?*

Quest. 12. Whether it be not a far greater breach of charity in the priests of Aberdeen, not only to speak all manner of evil falsely against that people in the pulpit, but also there to stir up both magistrates and people to imprison and persecute them? whether that be not more like the practice of the Pharisees, and of Demetrius the silver-smith, than the ministers of Christ?

Quest. 13. Whether beating, striking, punching, pulling out of hair, and that openly in the streets, threatening to stone and pistol their sober innocent neighbours, and boasting, that though they should do so, they should be under no hazard of the law, be like the fruits of Christ's flock? or whether such practices and boastings be not more abusive of, and destructive to magistracy, than meeting together in sobriety and God's fear, to wait upon him, and edify one another, which is expressly com-

1670. manded, Heb. 10. Or if such actions be not liker John a Leyden, and the tumults and cruelties of Munster, than any thing, that can be proved against the Quakers?

Quest. 14. Whether singing, dancing, swearing, asking if the Spirit be come, whistling, and saying the Spirit's upon them, in the Quaker's meeting, be not barbarous and atheistical, and interruptions far of another nature, than for honest men in seriousness to stand up in your meeting-house, after your preaching is ended, and preach repentance; seeing these practices above mentioned evidence, how much ye stand in need of such an advertisement: and both reason and Christianity would say, it deserved more civil and Christian usage, than imprisonment or a pair of stocks?

Quest. 15. Whether David Lyall his expressions, intimating his fears of the increase of preachers, doth not show him contrary to the spirit of Moses, who wished all the Lord's people might be prophets; and to the apostle Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. 29. 'Ye may all prophesy one by one;' and to Luther, and many of the first reformers and martyrs, who held preaching to be the common privilege of Christians, and so many of them being tradesmen, did preach, judging it no inconsistence: though this generation of lofty priests (who may well be compared in many things to those idle shavelings, whom Luther reproves) are loath to admit of any such thing? knowing, if it once should be supposed, that tradesmen or ploughmen should preach, it would also follow, that preachers might be tradesmen, and so win their living with their hands, as did the apostle, 2 Cor. iv. 12, ibid. ix. 18. Whether if so, it be not probable, fewer would be ambitious of that office, than now are, and that there would be no such

gaping for presentations, the desirable baits of stipends being moved; and as it would abate the pride and sumptuousness of the priests, so it would clip shorter the striped silk petticoats of their wives, and other gaudy apparel of their children? 1670.

Quest. 16. Whether it can then be pertinently objected, as a token of pride against the Quakers, that they preach repentance, especially against their doing it without study or premeditation, as if trusting to the Spirit of God for utterance were pride, which is expressly allowed, commanded and practised in the Scripture. Luke xxi. 14, 15. Acts ii. 4. 1 Cor. ii. 14, and 1 Cor. xiv. 29. 1 Pet. iv. 11.

Quest. 17. Whether that doth homologate the popish argument for a liturgy, alleging it to be pride for men to frame prayers extempore, seeing there are prayers framed by the church, and by learned men heretofore, (as they say,) better than private men can make off hand, containing whatever is applicable to the condition of any soul? Or whether it may not, by the same argument, be pressed upon David Lyall, as a point of pride, for him or his brethren to use any prayer, except the exemplar left by Christ, commonly called the Lord's Prayer, seeing they themselves make the extent of it so large, as there can be no condition of any particular person, which they will not reduce to some of the heads of it, and that enlargements and tautologies to God, are not only vain and needless, but also by himself prohibited?

Quest. 18. And whether it savours more of pride, to preach without premeditation, which is but a speaking unto man, than to pray without premeditation, which is a speaking unto God? And seeing David Lyall and his breth-

1670. ren pray extempore, and without premeditation of any conceived form of prayer, may it not be laid at his and their door, first to clear themselves of pride as to this matter, especially when they do not pretend to pray by the immediate teaching and leading of the Spirit, in which the only true prayer is framed, that is acceptable unto God?

Quest. 19. Whether or no it did not as well express a mind filled with pride, as contain a manifest impertinency, for the same David Lyall to allege, as a token of the Quakers' pride, that a little black fellow came into the church, (such were his expressions,) whether these words, I say, savour not as little of humility, as the thing itself is void of reason, that either littleness of body, blackness of feature, or meanness of outward extract, (for so I think he means by fellow,) are inconsistent with the *esse* or being of a preacher, which if they had, it is probable, himself could hardly have been admitted to be one?

Quest. 20. Whether if such words and expressions be the fruits of premeditation and study, which these men cry up so much, and judge so needful, it deserves that esteem they would have put upon it, or upon themselves, because thereof, especially considering many more impertinencies and inconsistencies used by them in their pulpits: witness that one mentioned upon the same occasion by the aforesaid D. L. to wit, that it is better to be an humble devil, than a proud saint, which if used by a school boy, would have deserved hissing if not whips, as being *repugnantia in adjecto?*

Let David Lyall, George Mildrum, John Menzies, three priests in Aberdeen, who have lately most appeared in pulpit against them called Quakers, and among all their fellow priests

are herein mostly concerned, answer these queries, if they can, without using those shifts and tergiversations, which the Papists used against the primitive reformers. 1670.

Given forth the 11th month, 1670, by R. B.

WILLIAM MITCHELL UNMASKED;

OR,

The Staggering Instability

OF THE

PRETENDED STABLE CHRISTIAN

DISCOVERED,

HIS OMISSIONS OBSERVED, AND WEAKNESS UNVEILED, IN HIS LATE FAINT AND FEEBLE ANIMADVERSIONS, BY WAY OF REPLY TO A BOOK, ENTITLED,

TRUTH CLEARED OF CALUMNIES:

WHEREIN THE INTEGRITY OF THE QUAKERS' DOCTRINE IS THE SECOND TIME JUSTIFIED, AND CLEARED FROM THE REITERATE, CLAMOROUS, BUT CAUSELESS CALUMNIES OF THIS CAVILLING CATECHIST.

BY ROBERT BARCLAY.

John xvi. 2. "They will put you out of their synagogues, yea, the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you, will think he doth God good service.
1 John iv. 4. "Ye are of God, little children, because greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the world.
3 John x. "Wherefore if I come, I will remember his deeds (which he doth) prating against us with malicious words."

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

READER,

Having seriously perused W. M. his late animadversions upon my book, I find, my judgment of it, though a party concerned, to jump with that which is the sense of several judicious persons, who neither own nor walk in that profession I am in; and therefore can the less be suspected of partiality; viz. that they contain nothing of a solid or satisfactory reply. For though he seems to take notice of all the particulars mentioned, yet he omits in many more than the half of what is said by me concerning them; and against that which he doth mention in my name, his most frequent arguments are without any proof; having no other bottom, but his own judgment, thoughts and conjectures, whereby it seems, forgetting, or mistaking his work, he plays the catechist, rather than the disputant. This put me to some stand, whether it was fit to give him any reply? Though truly, such as will be at the pains to compare *his* with *my last*, will need little further. Yet knowing, how many are apt to take things upon trust, and to receive misrepresentations concerning us, who are a people so generally reproached; I found it expedient to write this succinct reply, which may lead the reader to a narrow observation of the invalidity of W. M. his work against us; and may present in short his most obvious omissions, his most manifest contradictions, unvail his disingenuity, lay open his weakness, and show his unstability, especially so far as he has deserved, in most of these arguments he used in his dialogue, as not being able further to maintain them; and discover, how faintly such new ones, as he doth now bring forth, militate against us. Let it not startle

thee, that so small a bulk as this is, should answer his; for thou mayest perceive, several pages of his taken up in the capital letters of the contents of his many heads and subdivided sections; which makes it not unlike the city Mindus, whereof the ancients spoke, whose gates were so disproportionable in greatness to the quantity of the town, that a certain philosopher is said to have advised the citizens to shut them, lest the city should flee out of them. We may very well so far extend the parallel, as to aver, that the contained in no ways answers to the contents; there is a deal of more heads, than either heart or horns: several sections, but small substance, and a great show of method, but very little matter. I confess, I might have far more enlarged this duply, had I taken notice of all the impertinences, which herein come under my observation; but that the more judicious and intelligent would ascribe these things not so much to the cause, as his weakness who managed it. I desire to contend for truth, and not for victory; knowing, though I were so minded, the triumph should be but small, that I could gain from so inconsiderable an antagonist. Therefore, reader, I shall wish thee for the truth's sake, that thou may be found truly owning it, and not something else instead of it, seriously to read and peruse these papers, with such as relate unto them; and may that Spirit of truth, which teacheth all things, so direct thy understanding, as thou mayest discern, what doctrine is truly and really most according to the Holy Scriptures! Which thou art heartily invited in this matter to search and peruse,

By a well-wisher of thy soul, and of all men.

R. B.

Ury, the 24th of the 10th month, commonly called December, 1671.

WILLIAM MITCHELL UNMASKED:

OR,

THE STAGGERING INSTABILITY OF THE PRETENDED STABLE CHRISTIAN DISCOVERED, HIS OMISSIONS OBSERVED, AND WEAKNESS UNVEILED, &c.

1672.

That which first presents itself to my view, is W. M. his epistle directed to me and the Quakers in and about Aberdeen, which he prefixes as his considerations upon my preface; but that which is the substantial part of it he hath left unanswered. For my preface was to show the method of the priests of Aberdeen's procedure against the Quakers, giving account of most, if not all the papers had past betwixt them, and also how by their instigation some of us had been imprisoned, particularly the falseness of G. Mildrum his way with us, first in pulpit to accuse us as heretics, and then in private to desire to know of us our principles: but all this he hath wholly waived, it seems he either could not, or would not defend his own, nor his brethren's double dealing with us. As to what he mentions I take notice—

First, of his denying, that any in or about Aberdeen hath reproached the Quakers, as demented, distracted, or bodily possessed, checking me for taking things upon trust. Well, it sufficeth me, that they are ashamed of such falsehoods, though if need be, I can instance, that I had ground to say so.

Secondly, I take notice, how that not being willing wholly to clear us, he saith, some of us in England have given ground to be so charged, by their extraordinary trembling, &c. But it is

1672. strange W. M. should so far forget himself, as to account this a ground to charge people as demented, &c. seeing there was a season, wherein himself acknowledged, he seldom or never went into the pulpit without sensible trembling, which if he dare to deny, I offer to prove by undeniable testimonies. As to what he adds of women going naked in the streets, and some offering to raise the dead, alleging for proof, Samuel Clark, the Newcastle minister's Paget's Heresiography;—I answer, as these calumnies have been particularly answered by our friends in England, so they signify no more against us, (being writ by our declared enemies,) than Cochlæus' lies against Luther, particularly that he essayed to cast out devils; or what the popish authors write of Calvin, that he made a living man counterfeit himself dead, that so he might raise him, and that Beza was stigmatized for sodomy; and much more of this kind.

John of Leyden.

Thirdly, the thing I observe is his comparing us to John of Leyden, and Ignatius Loyola, and that, because they preached in the streets, cried down wearing of rings, and other superfluities as we do, were against needless salutations, spoke much of mortification, and pretended to, or expected immediate revelation. But our resembling them in these things, which the apostles of Christ commanded and practised, will not prove the Jesuits our grandfathers, (as W. M. terms it,) more than their being found in them, will prove them the grand children of the apostles. We must not forsake doing good, because hypocrites seem to do so, nor forbear to preach the gospel, because Judas did it: but as for the other practices of John a Leyden, and Ignatius Loyola's followers of the Jesuits, to wit, their cutting down

all that would not be of their way, their assuming outward power, their seeking to overturn kingdoms, their preaching up war and blood: the principles and practices of W. M. his brethren do declare, how much more they resemble them than the Quakers; who from the pulpit blew the trumpet of all the late troubles, seditions and civil dissensions, which have proved so bloody and monstrous to the inhabitants of this poor island; and many of them have now turned their backs upon that cause, which they hunted out others to fight for; and some (to wit, W. M. and his brethren at Aberdeen) can find out jesuitical distinctions and mental reservations, whereby (notwithstanding they swore against all detestable neutrality) they can make a shift to preach under bishops, dispense with the doxology, forbear lecturing, and several other parts of the directorian discipline, as W. M. has done at the bishop's order, and keep a reserve for presbytery, in case it come again in fashion. 1672.

Fourthly, I take notice of the impertinency of W. M. his bringing in this story of Ignatius Loyola, upon my saying, 'some professors in Aberdeen found that savour of life in Quakers' testimony, which formerly had stirred among others, who were come to a great decay. Now because it was obvious, I intended by these professors who were come to a decay, W. M. and some others of his brethren, who pretended to be for independency in that day; but now were turned with the times, knowing how much it would reflect upon him to harp on this string, he runs away and says, these others are Ignatius Loyola, and thereupon makes the comparison above mentioned: which impertinent digression is abundantly manifest.'

Fifthly, I take notice of his charging us, as

1672. rather reproachers of others, than reproached, because of the plain language we use against him and his brethren; alleging, we will not find Christ and his apostles use the like to such, as professed Christianity. For a reproof of his ignorance in the Scriptures, let him read Rom. xvi. 18. Phil. iii. 2. 1 Tim. i. 19, 20. ib. chap. iv. 1, 2, 3, &c. ib. chap. vi. vers. 3, 4. 2 Tim. ii. 17. Tit. i. 10, 11. 2 Pet. ii. 1, 2, 3. 1 Job. ii. 18, 19, &c. His adding that they show earnestness of desire, that souls may be saved, and willingness to promote that design, saith nothing; except this desire and willingness proceed from the right ground. Papists are as zealous in their earnestness and willingness as they, and do not less profess subjection to the gospel, owning Christ to be the Messiah, and yet Calvin spared not to call them *impuros canes*, filthy dogs. Innumerable are the expressions of this kind used by the zealous Luther against them.

The plain language used in the Scriptures.

Sixthly. I take notice of his cautions to me, wherein he chargeth me of pride, passion, censoriousness, folly, contrariety to the word of God, ignorance, and endeavouring to promote the popish interest: but had he truly minded my good in his cautions, he should have produced some reasons to prove me guilty of these crimes. He concludes us proud, for separating from them in burying places; and so condemns the French protestants, for doing the like from Papists. He falsely chargeth us with placing religion in forbearing ribands, keeping on the hat, and saying thou and thee; and therefore concludes me ignorant of true conversion: while his ignorance of us hath made him thus calumnatious. He concludes us advancers of the popish interest, because we decry their ministry and churches: while

Burying grounds separate.

he borrows this very argument from the Papists, who used it against the first reformers, alleging, that their crying down the church of Rome, was a joining hand with the Turks, who did the same: though then the first reformers were no Turks, though they agreed with them in denying the church of Rome. Neither are we Romanists, though with those of Rome we condemn them; especially considering, that it is because of their too great affinity with Papists, that we do so. 1672.

Seventhly. I take notice of his confessing, he never intends to tell the world the Scriptures we use; alleging, we abuse them. But if he could have proved we did so, it would have tended more to our disadvantage. And whereas he says, he resolves to write no more: I confess it will be his wisdom, except he speak to better purpose: it is a very apparent subterfuge, to cover his resolutions of not prosecuting further this debate, by alleging, it will prove endless; and comparing us to scolds, who will have the last word: which in reason can have no place in this matter, seeing being challenged by me of many great omissions, he freely acknowledged he had not, nor did not intend to answer me fully; and what he had writ, was but some animadversions: which I have indeed found true, having allowed some time, as he desired, to read them; though it very hardly deserves to be so much regarded.

As to his Epistle, if he had as really affected retirement, as he pretends he does, he should have done well to have appeared in public with some more solid stuff: he hath herein almost only showed his ingenuity, in that he acknowledgeth himself amongst the weakest of our opposers, comparing his work but to a small quantity of water, brought to quench an house

1672.

on fire: we have indeed found it of less force, than many that have come before it, to smother or drown that truth, which God has revealed among us. In the end of his Epistle he would willingly have the reader believe, he is an upholder of the Protestant interest, against our endeavours to overthrow it; but to how little purpose, may, as it occurs, be manifested.

Truth is the strongest, and will prevail.

After he has made an entire omission of what is particularly directed by me to him in my 1st, 2d and 3d pages, (as not being able to vindicate himself,) he enters upon the matter of salutation, undertaking in his first section, to prove such as are used by gestures, wherein I observe—

First. His most manifest omission of the first part of mine concerning this thing, page 3 and 4, where I charge with disingenuity in wrong subsuming of our words; which he shuffleth over with this general, that after the Quakers' rate I have saluted him with reproach.

Secondly. He having expressed my argument against their manner of salutations, viz. That being it is the expression or signification of our worship to God, it ought not, nor cannot be given to the creature without idolatry; he maketh thereunto no direct answer, but instead of one frames a distinction of worship in civil and sacred: the first (he saith) may be given to men, but the second to God only; alleging, this distinction to be founded on Scripture, Luke xiv. 10. 'Then shalt thou have worship in the presence of them that sit at meat with thee.' Now these words ought to be translated, 'thou shalt have glory, praise or renown;' and therefore in the Latin it is, *Et erit tibi gloria:* for so the Greek word *doxa* signifies, which W. M. will not show me to signify *adoratio* or worship. It is therefore but a poor argument,

All worship belongs to God alone.

Luke xiv. 10, wrong translated.

'H δοξα *Gloria.*

that has no better bottom than this manifest mistake of the translation. For other proof he hath none, neither for his distinction, nor former assertion. 1672.

Thirdly. I observe his instancing of the practices of Abraham, Lot, Joseph, Jacob, adding, 'that though they be not to be followed in all things, yet in such they may, as are not elsewhere reprehended nor prohibited.' For answer; let him look unto Rev. xxii. 9, where the angel refused it: and seeing, I suppose, he may have so much charity for this beloved disciple, as to judge, he was not tempted with idolatry, especially in a season, wherein God was revealing such precious things unto him; he may observe now, this holy man was a stranger to this unscriptural distinction of civil and religious worship.

Fourthly. I observe his endeavours to shift affinity with popery; but he hath no way disproved the parity in that, wherein I compared them, viz. The Papists distinguish the worship they give to God, and that they give to their images only in the intention, and not in the outward signification: and ye distinguish the worship ye give to men, and that ye give to God, only in the intention, and not in the outward signification. For ye bow and take off your hats to the worst of men, as well as to God; and therefore ye agree in so far, as both have nothing but their simple intention to plead the difference, whereunto nothing is answered. He concludes his section, saying, 'I seem to justify Moses his doing obeisance to his father-in-law;' adding, 'what is obeisance, but civil reverence by bowing the body?' This is a fit conclusion to close up such a silly section; for after he has laboured long in vain, he concludes thus begging the thing in question. And

1672. if Moses bowed himself, as I said in my last, that makes nothing against us.

His second section is to prove salutations by words; which might have been spared until he had proved, how and where we deny them. But because he had something to say from Scripture for this, (which we deny not, but own as much as himself,) he would have it, in that he might seem with some credit to bring in his inference, which is, 'that bowing of the body, and expressing our affections by words, is agreeable to Scripture.' The latter part of this concerns not us, as being not denied: and for the first, of bowing, it signifies nothing, until it be brought in with some more pressing premises. In this section he acknowledges, 'that taking off the hat is without any Scripture warrant:' and from argument passes here to entreaties, begging, that it may not be quarrelled at. But seeing, the taking of it off, or uncovering of our heads is that which the apostle requires, as a sign of subjection in our worship towards God, 1 Cor. xi. 4, 7, we resolve to keep it to Him, and not to give it to man: wherein if he will solve our scruple according to Scripture, we may be the more easily induced to answer his desire. It is to be observed, that notwithstanding of this, we are not against outward significations of honour; though in the end of this section he falsely would be insinuating the contrary.

Hat-honour to man not warranted by Scripture; but to God.

He hath here subjoined a third section, which he termeth an Answer to my Objection, and which in reason should have some relation to salutation, as being under this head; though indeed it hath none at all, but is a mere cavil at some of my words upon another subject, concerning the single language. Where, page 11, I confess with him, that the kingdom of

God consists not in words, adding, that it seems inconsistent with his principles, seeing the gospel according to him is but words, yea, the Scripture itself, (I mean, that which ye have of it, to wit, the letter:) now this parenthesis he hath disingenuously omitted, and thereupon goes about to explain their meaning of the Scripture, and the gospel, alleging, 'if we be for another, we may justly be accounted subverters of the Christian religion: but such shallow criticisms brought in beside the purpose, (whereas other things more material, are either wholly omitted, or scurvily shifted over,) will easily appear to the impartial and judicious reader. 1672.

In his second head, concerning our using thou and thee, which is the singular number to one person, I observe—

First, how he hath given away his own cause, by confessing, that Luke xxii. 31 is not understood exclusively of others, and therefore no wonder, if Christ used the plural number, seeing, as W. M. confesses, he intended to speak to all the apostles. As for that expression of Bildad's, Job's friend, (granting both the transcription and translation to be true,) shall this one expression overturn the universal practice of Christ and the whole saints in Scripture? Or let him tell us plainly, whether these words and practices of Job's friends, which are recorded, be for to be our rule, so as we ought to imitate and follow them, especially where they contradict or differ from the practice of Christ and his apostles? But to follow this so frequent practice of the saints, is, with W. M. to be proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strife of words; for so he misapplies 1 Tim. vi. 4, and to his own confusion, uses it himself in the end of his

By *you* are meant all the apostles. Luke xxii. 31.

1672. epistle to the reader, where he has these words, 'I am thy servant:' and thereby hath condemned himself as one of those ignorant, proud boasters he speaks of, &c.

Secondly, the second thing I observe, that he produceth not one argument against our practice in this thing, but his own groundless, yea, lying imaginations and conjectures, alleging, he is of the mind, that if the translators had not kept to the rigour of construction, but translated *atach*, and so not thou (which is the true signification) but you, we had kept our old tone. Though his disdainful insinuation of our ignorance be here apparent, yet experience might have taught him and his brethren, that even where the translators have favoured them with their escapes, the Quakers have had both Hebrew and Greek enough to find them out. It is also here to be observed, how easily W. M. can dispense with mistakes, even wilful ones, in the translators, when they make for his purpose, thereby in effect, (for all his pretences of exalting the Scripture, and making it his rule,) he signifies his desire, not so much to square his practices to the Scripture, as by twining it like a nose of wax, to make it square to them.

He subscribeth his third head, an undertaking to prove, that our departing from them is not to be justified by their departing from Papists; wherein is to be observed his manifest omissions, which the reader will see, by comparing the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th pages of my last with this his third head.

Next, I observe the weakness of his arguing in what he hath mentioned, wherein he concludes, that because we grant we had a measure of integrity while among them, that therefore it was begot by their ordinances, so

called. But doth not the same recur in the case of the primitive Protestants? Or will he say, that all of them were void of any measure of integrity, while they were among the Papists? Moreover, whereas he objects, that though God visited some among Papists, it was not by popish traditions; alleging Luther had the benefit of the copy of a Latin Bible whereby he was instructed. For answer: the same recurs in our case, for whatever advantages Luther had, either by the use of the Bible, or otherways, had not we the same? 1672.

Papists not converted by popish traditions, &c.

And therefore, in the third place, it is to be observed, that he hath altered the state of the question, alleging it to be incumbent upon me to prove, that they were converted by the popish traditions: Which is a wilful mistake; for the question (as may be seen in the pages above mentioned) was, whether God might not countenance us with a regard to that measure of integrity he hath begot in our hearts, though we are indeed wrong, as to our walking with them in their way. And this I did illustrate by the example of the disciples of Cornelius, and of Luther, who, though he came but gradually to his discoveries, yet was countenanced in the first as well as last steps; yea, notwithstanding of his erring grossly in the matter of transubstantiation. All this he hath wholly omitted, closing up this head, by endeavouring to draw from my words a reflection upon P. L. as if I accounted an objection coming from him weak; but it is all inferred, to conclude P. L. from thence a feeble person. For though P. L. as well as I, might reckon it weak comparatively, in respect of others more strong; yet he might judge it strong enough for such faint disputers, as W. M. or his brethren at Aberdeen to answer: as that which

1672. he reckoned would put the Quakers to a great nonplus, he proposed in his dialogue upon this occasion, a query, viz. Whether it was safe to lean to the guidance of that light, which one while says, this is the way of God, walk in it; another while, come out of it, for it is Babylon? To which, beside the general answer above mentioned, I show him, how easily it might be retorted upon most of all the national ministry of Scotland, who now are gainsaying and contradicting that, which they had formerly pleaded for as the cause and work of God: even then as this their changeableness cannot be ascribed to the Scripture, which they pretend to be their rule, neither will any man's instability, who pretends to be guided by the light, prove the light ought not to be followed. This, because he felt might touch him and his brethren too near, therefore he hath wholly omitted it.

His fourth head is concerning the light, containing five sections, from page 9, to the 25th, wherein is to be observed,

First, How he has gone from the state of the question, as it is in his Dialogue, page 5, where he denies Christ to be in the wicked or unconverted in any other manner, than as he is in the very brutes and unsensible creatures: but now he grants Christ to be in such as to common operations: and page 22, he says, that the light is in all men, and that Christ is in all men, in so far as his light is in all men. And thus he overthrows his chief argument, used against us in his Dialogue, page 5, where he says, that Christ is in none, but in such with whom he is in union: for here he grants Christ's light to be in all men, even such as are not in union with him; adding that where the light of Christ is, there is Christ the donator of it. Which is all we say; so then the con-

troversy is no more, if Christ or his light be in all men. 1672.

But after what manner he is in them, and whether this light be saving, yea or nay?

And here, in the second place, I observe his shameless disingenuity and omission, in saying, it remains for me to prove, that this light in all is saving: whereby he would make the reader believe, that I had never offered to prove this. For clearing of which I desire he may look into page 21 of my last, where from Rom. v. 8. Joh. iii. 16. 19. Heb. ii. Tit. ii. 11. Col. i. 23. I did prove that the universal grace of God given to all men, is saving in its nature, and in order to save. And now, though no rules of strict debate could require me to proceed further, yet I shall go on to examine the question, as he hath now stated it, viz. that such as are not in union with Christ, have not saving grace. To prove this he produceth some Scriptures, where such as have saving grace and light, are said to be in union with Christ, which is not in the least denied; but the question is, whether all that have saving light are in union with Christ, which he hath not so much as offered to prove. And therefore it is here to be observed, how he hath not so much as mentioned, far less meddled with my arguments, proving saving light and grace to be in men, before they be converted or in union with Christ, showing he must needs be in them, before he be in union with them, that he may work the faith, by which he may be united unto them; seeing, without him, the Scripture saith, we can do nothing, John xv. 5, as it is more amply contained in page 15, of my last. Page 14, he seems to take some notice of an example brought by me to show, that saving grace presupposes not conversion. It is from the

1672. instance of a plaster and a wound; the being healed of a wound presupposeth a plaster, but the application of the plaster presupposeth not the being healed. This he rejects as not to the purpose, because, as he saith, who have saving grace, are in part healed, cured of the reigning power of sin: but for this he brings no proof, nor hath not shown us, wherein the comparison answereth not after the like manner. In the same page he addeth, 'that the difference betwixt having of saving grace, and being in a state of grace, is but the figment of the Quaker's own brain;' without giving any cause for it, either from Scripture or reason, but only he saith so. These are his most frequent and enforcing arguments against us. Of this nature is his arguing, page 11, reckoning it as a great absurdity flowing from our doctrine, that it would import Christ in some measure to be in the Americans, because he bears testimony in them against iniquity. But to prove this to be absurd, he produceth no reason; and if we may believe the apostle Paul, he tells us, 'that a manifestation of the Spirit is given every one to profit withal,' 1 Cor. xii. 7. So this every one includes the Americans.

Christ in the Americans in some measure.

The second absurdity, which he seeks to infer from this, hath no better bottom; 'that then it might be said, that Christ is revealed to devils, and that we do the heathens small favour, in putting them but in the same case with such.' For the revelation of Christ to man, before the day of their visitation be expired, and to such after they have sinned it out, is far different, as may appear by Luke xvii. Likewise W. M. hath forgot, how easily this argument may be retorted upon himself; for it is not questioned, but devils have enough of outward knowledge, even such as is gathered

from Scripture, and that which W. M. accounts the great privilege of Christians, doth it therefore follow, that Christians are in no better condition than devils? 1672.

And thus is answered another of his profuse assertions, page 12. 'That if Pagans have saving light, their state should be as good, as the state of real Christians:' for it is one thing to have saving light, and another, to hearken to and receive it; else, according to his own argument, the state of devils should be as good as the state of real Christians.

He adds; 'where saving illumination is, there is saving faith, because there is a concatenation betwixt these graces of the Spirit.'

Answ. There is grace given in order to save, where faith doth not follow upon it; which is evident by the parable of the seeds, Matt. xiii. 3, it was the same seed was sown in the stony and thorny ground, that was sown in the good ground, and yet it only brought forth fruit there. 'The light enlighteneth every man; he came unto his own, and they received him not:' but it was only to as many as received him, that he gave power to become the sons of God.

And whereas he objecteth, 'that where we are desired to believe in the light, it is understood of Christ's person, else it would import a belief in a creature.'

I answer, he that believeth in the light, believeth in Christ; for where the light of Christ is, as saith W. M. himself (page 22,) there is Christ himself.

In the same page he further adds, 'that if Pagans have saving light, then there is no spiritual benefits accrues to Christians by the Scriptures and gospel.' But he hath not heard us contradistinguish this light from the gospel.

Pagans have saving light and gospel.

1672. We say expressly, it is the gospel, according to Col. i. 23, where the apostle saith, 'that the gospel whereof he was a minister, was preached to every creature:' this Scripture mentioned by me in my last, he hath wholly omitted. Nor is this arguing of his concerning the bad tendency of our principle, but a reiterate clamour of what is already answered in page 22, of my last; where I show him, we distinguish betwixt things absolutely needful and things very profitable; and how they admit of this distinction themselves. As also, how these bad consequences of rendering the gospel and preaching useless, doth far more follow from their doctrine of absolute predestination; all which he hath also omitted. Now such are far likelier than we, to prove David his praying for more understanding, and that he might keep the precepts of God; for being predestinate to life, he could not miss of it: and how can such but reckon it folly for him to pray, that he might keep the precepts, whose principles obliges them to believe, they can never be made able to keep them.

Predestination made void.

Page 13. To say, 'that men are brutish in their knowledge, because they turn their backs upon the light,' he reckons a begging of the question, as having no proof at all: whereas it is particularly intimated, 1 John i. 5, 6, 7, where the cause of men's walking in darkness, is said to be their not walking in the light; though it be pastors, mentioned in that 10th of Jer. xix. that are said to be brutish; yet he can't be induced to name them. It is easy to prove (though he insinuate the contrary) that what in Scripture is called darkness, hath saving light; seeing it is expressly mentioned, that the 'light shineth in the darkness, but the darkness comprehended it not.' And this was

Brutish pastors.

saving, being Christ, who is the Saviour, John i. 5. 1672

Nor doth his supposed contradiction follow this, as if men could be spiritually dead, and not spiritually dead, in respect they have this in them, which is saving: for though it be in them, yet it is not of them; 'he that believeth in me,' saith Christ, 'though he be dead, yet shall he live,' John xi. 25. If life be not in them, as their permanent condition, yet they may have some touches of it; and the principle of life is permanent even in those that are spiritually dead: though many times as a spark covered under the ashes. He addeth further: 'that according to us, such who are the children of darkness, may be called the children of light, because a child of light is as much as one, in whom there is saving light and grace, citing for proof Luke xvi. 8, the words are, 'for the children of this world are wiser in their generation, than the children of light.' But he offereth from this to infer, that such who are indeed the children of darkness, because of their disobedience to the saving light and grace of truth, that is in them: he has not offered so much as to mention.

Page 13. He confesseth with me, that the light in some may be darkness; but speaks not one word, of what light I mention, may be so; page 14, of mine, only adds, that we will do well, to exhort our disciples, to take heed of our light, not to it. But we desire not people to take heed to our light, or their light, as he terms it, but to the light, wherewith Christ Jesus hath enlightened them; and in this there is no danger. He greatly declares his ignorance, in alleging our way of bidding people heed the light within is not warranted by Scripture; for God is light, 1 John i. 3. Is he not in God is light.

1672. us? Acts xvii. 27, 28. Must we not then there take heed unto him? or is not that light to be taken heed unto, which shineth in our hearts, to give us the knowledge of the glory of God? 2 Cor. iv. 6. And is not the word of God light, which the apostle saith expressly is not far off, neither above us, below us, nor without us, but nigh, even in our mouths and in our hearts, Rom. x. 8. Deut. xxx. 14. Moreover W. M. himself confesseth, that the light of Christ is in wicked men; and if so, let him tell us plainly, if men ought not to take heed to the light of Christ, where it is? how hath darkness blinded him in this matter!

Page 14. He repeats my words falsely, alleging I say: the light is darkness to them that reject it, instead of, is as darkness. For I said plainly, the light of Christ is not nor cannot be darkness, otherways than as the day of the Lord in Scripture is called darkness: this he hath omitted.

Page 15. Having sought (but ineffectually) to overturn my assertion, where I say; 'some may have saving light and grace, who after a certain manner may be said not to have the Spirit, viz. as not bringing forth the fruits of it;' averring, that unless I can prove, that the Spirit calls upon all in order to conversion, I cannot conclude, that all have the Spirit. Answ. As the one is easily proved, so is the other safely concluded: these are the plain words of the apostle, 1 Cor. xii. 7. A manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal: now it were not profitable unto them, if it did not strive with them in order to convert them. That other Scripture, John xvi. 8, he passes over, alleging, I should prove, the world there to be understood of all and every one: though in reason it might suffice for

answer, that there is nothing brought by him to show, why the word *world* here is not taken in its genuine and common acceptation; yet the apostle solves this scruple in the following verse; 'of sin, because they believe not in me.' Then if there, all believers be included, is not that all and every one in the world? for of the saints there is not here any question. 1672.

In his second section, page 16, he beginneth with omitting my concession of the benefit and advantages, that accrue to those that believe by the outward knowledge of Christ: and mentioneth nothing of the state of the question, which was, whether any might be saved without this outward knowledge? and to show, that some might, I gave him the instance of deaf people and children. To which he returneth nothing; but takes up the paper to prove, that the Greek preposition ἐν is sometimes translated [among], which is not denied: yet I shall find him twenty to one, where it is rendered [in] and can no ways be said to be [among.] The question is, whether in this place, 1 Cor. ii. 2, it be *in* or *among?* The reason alleged by him proves it no ways to be among, to wit, 'that it would have been the apostle's grief, not his joy, to know, that the light of truth was borne down among them;' this was the apostle's joy, that the Corinthians came to be sensible, how they had crucified Christ in them; that so looking upon, and taking heed to him, whom they had pierced, they might come to be healed by him.

The preposition ἐν signifies [in] in this place more properly.

Page 17. He slightly passes over that expression of Paul, 2 Cor. v. 16, where he saith, 'Henceforth know we Christ no more after the flesh, but after the Spirit.' (Adduced by me to show, that Paul preferred a spiritual knowledge of Christ to all other.) As if the apostle

1672. were here only condemning earthly thoughts of Christ, as if, as king of Israel, he should begin a temporal kingdom: but for this exposition we have only the bare authority of his own naked assertion.

Page 18. For want of a true spiritual understanding concerning what I mean by the inward blood of Christ, he bringeth forth his own malicious guessings.

The first is, 'that I seem to incline to justify, that which hath been charged upon some of my brethren,' to wit, 'that we are not such fools, as to hope to be saved by that Jesus, that died at Jerusalem:' as he hath no ground to suspect such a thing from my words, so there was never any ground for such a charge against any, owned of that people.

The second is, that perhaps I intend, that Christ, as man, dwells in us. There can none truly charge us with such grossness, as to assert, the manhood, or vessel, that walked at Jerusalem, is in us; but if any of us have said, that Christ, as man, dwells in us, they have said no more than the express words of Scripture, 1 Pet. iii. 3, 4. 'Let your adorning be the hidden man of the heart,' Eph. iv. 24. 'That ye put on the new man.' Now what is this new man, but Christ Jesus? And therefore saith the Scripture, Rom. xiii. 14. 'Put on the Lord Jesus Christ,' Gal. iii. 27. 'As many as are baptized into Christ, have put on Christ.' And this is Christ, which the apostle travelled, that he might be formed in the Galatians, Gal. iv. 19. And whereof he admonisheth the Corinthians, that they should know him in them, else they were reprobates, 2 Cor. xiii. 5. If it be hard for W. M. to take up the meaning of these things, let him acknowledge his ignorance in the Holy Scriptures, whose language this is.

Christ's indwelling in man is spiritual.

1672.

In this third section, page 19, he begins by offering to prove, our principles have a tendency to introduce Paganism; and to contradict him he reckons an impertinency: but his ridiculous vanity herein will appear, by looking upon page 24, of my last. Neither bringeth he any arguments to prove this, but such, whereby he might conclude the same against the apostle Paul. 'The Quakers,' saith he, 'speak of a light within, to which who take heed, need no teacher:' and the apostle speaks of a knowledge or light under the new covenant, where there is no need of a teacher, Heb. viii. 10, 11. So if the tendency of the apostle's words be not to introduce Paganism, neither are ours. And because that W. M. finds, that notwithstanding of this we despise not teaching, but are led even by that light, to hear and to receive the ministry of them whom God sends; he concludes, that herein we are inconsistent: adding, 'that some of us have been heard to say, that we only taught to bring people off from other teachers to mind the light within, that then they will need none:' which he concludes, 'would quickly make them like such, among whom the name of Christ is not in remembrance.' But he might as well seek to infer the like hazard and contradiction from the plain words of the apostle, 1 John ii. 27. 'Ye have an anointing, and ye need not, that any man teach you: but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things:' and yet in the mean time was teaching them.

The light no introduction of Paganism.

As for that story mentioned by him, of a certain dying man in Aberdeen, whom two Quakers pressed so much to mind Christ within: it inferreth nothing for his purpose; for that dying person had abundance of the outward knowledge of Christ, and they needed

The inward knowledge of Christ preferred before the outward.

1672. not preach that to him, which he knew; therefore was he sensible of the seasonableness of their advice, saying, (as I am certainly informed by one of the two,) how good a thing would it be for an old dying man like me, to know that Christ within, which ye speak of!

He bringeth not any thing of weight in his fourth section, as reply to that which is contained in the 20th page of my last, where I show, 'we do no ways confound the light-giver with the light, or enlightening given:' the reason alleged here is, because we call that light Jesus Christ, wherewith all men are enlightened; which implieth no more his consequence, than that usual expression, that it is the sun, by which we are outwardly enlighted, implies any confounding of the sun with the beams.

Whereas in his last he said; there was a certain light in all men, and that as the remainders of God's image in him, since the fall; in the end of page 24, he explains it to be the light of reason and understanding, and thereby makes the reason of man all one with Christ and the Spirit; which page 10 and 22, he granted to be in wicked men, as to common operations.

After that he laboureth much in his fifth section to prove, that man retaineth some good since the fall; he instanceth nothing but the soul, which he saith, is good and precious, and of great excellency and worth, and retains a similitude to the image of God, as being spiritual and immortal. Where it is observable, that he grants the souls of wicked and unconverted men to be of great worth and excellency; and yet he denies the works of the pure Spirit of God to be of any worth or excellency, and that because the soul has a share in them. If so be, the souls of wicked men are conform-

W. M.'s confusion.

ed to the image of God, because they are spiritual and immortal; then are devils also conform to the image of God, for they are also spiritual and immortal in the same sense, that the souls of wicked men are. 1672.

Lastly, I desire the reader may here observe, how he hath entirely omitted that part of page 21, of mine, where I show, 'How and in what sense the light is to be understood, or called the light of nature, and of what nature? therein clearing us from the aspersion of Pelaginism. By which omission it may appear, how willing these men are to calumniate us, and apt to pass by that which tends to our vindication.

Page 25. head 5. sect. 1. He allegeth, we vilify the Scriptures, and that because we confess, that the end of our meeting is not to read them, but to wait on God; adding, that therefore we make an opposition betwixt reading the Scriptures, and waiting on God. But as this conclusion hath no proof, so it is most inconsequential: as if nothing could be distinguished, except it were opposite: according to which he might argue, that because preaching and praying are not all one, therefore they are opposite. That some have been countenanced of God in reading the Scriptures, is not denied by us; and therefore the bringing of it forth against us, is wholly impertinent. Reading the Scriptures is owned.

And whereas he avers, that the reading of the Scripture is the means of having the word of God to dwell richly in us, alluding to Col. iii. 16, he should have first proved the word there mentioned to be the Scripture, before he had been so hasty to draw his conclusion.

His alleging some passages, where Christ and others spake upon some words of Scripture, saith nothing to the purpose: for as I confessed, it was sometimes used by them; so I

1672. told him, it was also frequent among us. But the question is, whether their settled custom of speaking upon a text be according to Scripture? and thereupon I show him, how Christ and his apostles did preach without it; as Christ, Matt. v. and in many other places: and Paul to the Athenians: but this of Paul mentioned by me in my last, he hath left unanswered.

Prophesying restricted only to prophets by W. M. falsely.

And in answer to 1 Cor. xiv. 29, 30, 31, 'for ye may all prophesy one by one,' &c. he saith, this will not conduce to keep up the successive talking of Quakers; alleging it to be restricted to the prophets, which, he says, it will be hard to prove our preachers to be: adding, that it maketh not against their way, because ministers speak among them two or three. Here though in relation to us he restricts this place to the prophets, yet in relation to himself he doth it not; else he must prove their ministers, that so speak, to be prophets, as he desires me to do our preachers: now this he cannot, since he says peremptorily, page 97, that such a thing is ceased. And therefore this may show, how he twines and wrests the Scripture, to make it answer his corrupt ends. It is a manifest shift, to avert the strength of this place, where the order of the church, which is quite contrary to theirs, is expressly mentioned, to run to the matter of women's speaking, thereby to make a digression to a new debate; which hath been largely defended by us, and particularly by Margaret Fell in a book never yet answered; and as to the place alleged, we have often shown, how it cannot be understood in a rigid literal sense, else it would contradict the same apostle, 1 Cor. xi. 5, where he proposeth to women the method and manner of their behaviour in their public

preaching and praying: the promise was, that the daughters as well as the sons should prophesy, Joel ii. 28. Acts ii. 17. 1672.

As a second reason of our vilifying the Scriptures, he adds, and that by way of derision, they will not have the Scripture called their master's letter; no forsooth; their master's letter is writ in their hearts, &c. Answ. Here his malice hath not only led him foolishly to deride us, but the apostle, yea, God himself. For the law of God is our master's letter, and this is in our hearts, if we be under the new covenant, Heb. viii. 10, 'I will put my laws into their minds, and write them in their hearts;' and verse 11, 'they shall not need every man to teach their neighbour, for they shall all know me,' &c. His argument taken from Christ's writing to the seven churches of Asia, makes nothing against us, except he will be so ridiculous as to aver, that these churches had no rule, nor knowledge of their master's will, before they received that writing; which if they had, it was not there only. And this was that incumbent to be proved, for which that example was brought, for the testimony of Christ through his servants, whether by word or writ, is dearly owned by us, as hath often been declared.

The law of God is our master's letter.

With the like impudence he concludes, that we bend our strength to evacuate the authority of the Scriptures, and confirm negligent atheists in their contemptuous slighting of them; because we speak of walking, or doing our work by the immediate counsel of God. But he might as well babble against the beloved disciple, 1 John ii. 24. Ye have received an anointing, and ye need not that any man should teach you: and yet was then teaching them himself without contradiction. As for that Scripture, John xii. 24, 48, which he de-

The anointing is no confirming of atheists.

1672. sires us to read, we find not how in the least they strike against our principle: for as it is without doubt to us, that the words which Christ spake, will stand in judgment against him and his brethren, because while in words they pretend to exalt it, both in principle and practice they vilify and deny it.

As a third reason he alleges, 'we prefer our silent waiting to the reading of Scriptures, as if we must first come to this, ere we can know the Scripture aright;' adding, 'that this waiting is defined by us, to be a silent posture of the heart, without thinking good or evil.

Waiting excludes man's own thoughts.

Answ. These thoughts, which we say ought to be excluded from waiting, are man's own thoughts; not such as the Spirit of God furnisheth him with: and it is great ignorance to say, that without this we can use the Scriptures aright; seeing 'the things of God knoweth no man, save the Spirit of God,' 1 Cor. ii. 11. As for his own imaginations, which he subjoins concerning our waiting, they signify nothing; because alleged without any proof: we deny not, but that faith, hope and charity is exercised in waiting, yet not without such thoughts, as proceed from the Spirit of God. And whereas he finds, we clear ourselves of this calumny of being vilifiers of the Scripture, by showing, how much it is our desire to try doctrines by them; he allegeth, we have herein been suspected of juggling; the proof is, R. Farmer saith so. But R. Farmer's saying and W. M.'s saying is all one in this matter; neither of them are to be trusted without proof. Now the reason, because we say, that the Scriptures are not the saints' rule of knowing God and living to him: but this is just to beg the thing in question.

That story mentioned by him, of a Quaker's

telling a certain woman in Aberdeen, that she might as well read a Latin book, as the Bible, doth noways prove, that we are against trying of doctrines by the Scripture; seeing the Quaker he speaks of, might have had good reason, to look upon that supposed religious woman, as one alienated from that spiritual key of David, which can alone truly open the Scri-p tures, and so might well tell her; she would do well first to come to that, else her reading might be so far from profiting her, that she might come to wrest them to her own destruction, 2 Pet. iii. 16. 1672.

Sect. 2. Page 30. He begins with acknowledging, 'that something may be accounted the declaration of one's mind, which is not his word:' though, page 12 of his dialogue, he could not but smile at it as irrational.

To prove the Scriptures to be truly and properly called the word of God, he subjoineth, 'that the precepts of the Scriptures were uttered and spoke of God.' But in answer to this I show him, page 26 of my last, that the properties peculiar to the Word, cannot be spoken of the Scripture, but of the inward and living Word. To which he replies nothing, only tells, 'there is a two-fold word, a co-essential, co-eternal word, and a spiritual word; the temporal expressed word, or the word written in time. But seeing he pretends to be pleading for the Scripture, he should have used the language of it, and not such strange anti-scriptural expressions, which are not to be found in all the Bible. Where doth he read of a spiritual, temporal, expressed word? A part of my arguments showing, that these Scriptures, Hos. i. 1 Joel i. 1. Isai. xxxviii. 4, are understood of that Word, from which the Scriptures are given forth; he hath but mentioned, not ans-

The outward and inward word distinguished.

1672. wered: for I told him, page 26 of my last, that where it is said, 'the Spirit of God came upon such a one, or to such a one,' that therefore the Scripture is the Spirit: and so as do the Socinians, call the writings of the prophets and apostles the Spirit, denying the necessity of any other Spirit. This he hath wholly omitted. And, indeed, he seems pretty much to incline to the Socinians in this matter, for he says, 'that the Scripture is the sword of the Spirit, and that, because Christ in his conflict with Satan said, it was written.' But had this been Christ's only sword, we must conclude the devil to have had the same; for he said also, 'it is written.' And according to this doctrine, who hath a Bible in his pocket, wanteth not the sword of the Spirit, which savoureth of that popish foppery, 'that the sign of the cross puts away devils;' but experience teacheth us, both these opinions to be alike ridiculous.

Sword of the Spirit.

Upon this occasion in his Dialogue, page 13, he asserted, 'that it is all one to say, the Scripture saith, and God saith.' And whereas in answer to this I told him, that they might be said to be one, because of their agreement; yet were no more one, than the sunbeam and the shadow is one, though they agree together. Because he knew not, what to reply to this, he mentions a part of these words of mine, and subjoins by way of answer to them, 'that they tend to advance human writings, and equal them with the Scripture, when they agree with what God saith.' Which, as it is a manifest shift, and no reply, so it is a notable impertinency to say, there is any hazard of advancing such writings, as truly agree with what God saith; for upon what other account are the Scriptures to be esteemed?

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Page 32. To prove, that word mentioned Mark vii. which he fancies is said to be made void, is not the living Word, but the outward precept of the Scripture; he says, 'it is plainly held forth to be so, without any further probation.'

He addeth, page 34, 'That it seems we think, they set up the Scriptures as an idol, instead of that from which they come;' asking, 'if we did ever hear them call it the Eternal Son of God, that Saviour who died,' &c.

Answ. Though we have not heard you term the Scripture, yet it is not without reason, we say, ye set them up in Christ's stead. For I have a letter under one of the present national teachers' hand, wherein he says, 'the Scriptures are the alone means of salvation; yea, the alone way, truth and life, and that none can be saved without them.'

A national teacher's belief of the Scriptures.

And I have heard another call the Greek Testament, the only foundation. Now being these are the peculiar properties of Christ, have we not reason to say, that such as ascribe them to the Scriptures, put the Scriptures in Christ's stead? Though W. M. be pleased to term it unworthy dealing.

Sect. 2. page 35, he says, 'It is not difficult to prove, that the law and testimony, mentioned Deut. viii. 20, was not an inward law.' The reason alleged is, 'because the prophet opposes what is written, as no light, if it agree not to the law and testimony.' But what then? Doth this prove the testimony here not to be inward? He adds; 'that let people pretend what they will to a law within, if it agree not with the Scripture word, there is no light in them; and that the outward law gets the name of the testimony.' But granting him all this, it doth not in the least follow, that the law and

The law and testimony inward.

1672. testimony there mentioned, was not inward. It is more observably strange here, than in any other place, with what shameless confidence he asserts his own bare assertions instead of arguments.

After the like manner, without answering a word of what I infer, page 27, of mine against him and his brethren from John vii. 49, he concludes that Scripture fits us better than them, because of our known rash censuring. Upon which supposition of his own he condemns us, as like to Pharisees, without more ado: still also by way of reply to me, he says, 'It is not probable, that Christ checked the lawyer, in saying, how readest thou?' Luke x. 26, not offering to add any further probation. And as for what he subjoineth, page 7, that Christ used the Scripture about divorcement, and in the matter of the Sabbath; it doth no ways prove them to be the only rule; for as is said, we are willing to try doctrines by them.

Page 37. He saith; it is false to affirm, that the divine authority of the Scriptures cannot be proved otherways, than by the Spirit's inward testimony: adding, there are other arguments, whereby it can solidly and convincingly be proved; and for this he instanceth one which he says, is excellently approved by R. Baxter. What then? because W. M. thinks, that argument of R. Baxter will prove the Scriptures' authority without the Spirit; must we therefore be of the same mind? I doubt very much, if R. Baxter think so much himself. Now W. M. his deceit is very remarkable, in quoting some words of John Calvin, where he says, if he were to deal with arguments, he could produce many to prove the laws came from God; for that I never imagined, these arguments could convincingly prove the Scriptures' authority

John Calvin's testimony concerning the Scriptures.

without the Spirit, (whichis the thing in debate,) it appears in the very following words, Lib. Inst. i. C. 7. Sect. 4. 'But if we will well look to our consciences, that they be not troubled with doubts, and stick not at every scruple, it is requisite, the persuasion, whereof we have spoken, be taken higher than human judgment or conjecture,' viz. the secret testimony of the Holy Spirit. And a little after in direct opposition, to wit, his words, he adds, 'This word shall not obtain faith in the hearts of men, if it be not sealed by the inward testimony of the Spirit. It is necessary then,' saith he, 'that the saints' Spirit, which spake by the mouth of the prophets, enter in our hearts, and touch them livingly, to persuade us, that the prophets have faithfully delivered that, which was commanded them from on high; and a little after, 'this then is a persuasion which requires no reasons:' and again, 'this is a persuasion, which cannot be begotten, but by a heavenly revelation.' 1672.

And in the beginning of the next chapter he adds, 'If we have not this certainly higher, and more firm than all human judgment, in vain is the authority of the Scriptures proved by arguments.' This doth abundantly show, how contrary W. M. is to Calvin, in this matter; and not to him alone, but to the whole reformed churches of France, who in their confession of faith, agreed upon by the first national synod they ever had at Paris, (Anno 1559,) say thus, Art. 4. 'We know these books to be canonique, not so much by the common consent of the church, as by the inward testimony and persuasion of the Holy Spirit. And whereas he adviseth me to read Calvin his 6th chapter, but that it would prove too long a digression, I could easily show, that we are no such contem-

The synod at Paris concerning the canonical books in Scripture.

1672. ners of the Scripture, as those he there speaks to. And what, if he contradict the truth, which we and himself elsewhere acknowledge? I make use of his testimony against W. M. and his brethren, even as he did the testimony of Augustine, Gregory, and others of the fathers against those of Rome, whom nevertheless he spared not to reject sometimes: read Inst. lib. 1. cap. 11. Sec. 5. lib. cap. Sect. 4, and in many other places. Thus also is added that, which he adds about Pasor, whose translation, he says, 'we follow in one thing, but not in another;' for we are not bound to follow him further, than he follows the truth. Nor doth W. M. here produce any argument to prove, that these words, John v. 39, should be, 'search the Scriptures,' and not, 'ye search the Scriptures,' but his own bare assertion; adding, 'that Christ did not check them, when he said, in them ye think to have eternal life;' whereas the very following words clearly import a reproof, 'ye will not come to me that ye might have life.' He says not, seek for life in the Scriptures, ye do well to think to find it there; but thus, 'ye think to have eternal life in the Scriptures, but will not come to me that ye might have life.'

Ye search the Scriptures, &c. 2 pl. præs. Ind. See Pasor.

He ends this section, asking; 'seeing I grant the Scriptures are profitable for doctrine, correction, reproof, &c. 'why I deny them to be a perfect rule?' But I never denied them; and I told him also, they were thus profitable, not to every man, but to the man of God, i. e. he that is led by the Spirit of God. Now to this he replies nothing: only tells me, 'the man of God is most commonly understood of the ministers of Christ Jesus;' which though I should grant him, what he either can or would infer from it against my argument, he hath left unmentioned.

The Scriptures profitable to the man of God.

Sect. 3. Page 40. He allegeth; 'the voice

and testimony of the Father, which Christ speaks of to the Jews, not to have been inward, desiring the reader to look to the place:' and thereupon he cites John v. 36, where Christ speaks of his miracles, as a greater witness, than that of John. But his deceit is abundantly manifest; for the place mentioned by me was, 1 John v. 10. 'For this is the witness of God, which he testified of his Son, he that believeth in the Son of God, hath the witness in himself.' Now, this he hath wholly omitted; and mentioned another in the stead of it, which makes nothing to the purpose. I deny not, but the miracles were a greater witness, than that of John; but then will it therefore follow, that the inward testimony of the Father is not greater also? This was the matter in question. After the like manner he concludeth the voice spoken of John v. 37, 'is not inward, but outward;' citing for proof Matt. iii. 27. 2 Pet. i. 17, 18, the one is the voice heard at Christ's being baptized; the other at his being transfigured: but what way he seeks to infer from thence, that the voice of the Father here spoken of by Christ to the Jews, was not inward, but outward, he hath left unmentioned. 1672.

Likewise the exposition he adds unto this place, as if Christ were only here reproving the ignorance of the Jews, whose predecessors had heard so much of God; it would be the better received, that it had some other bottom, than his own mere assertion.

Page 14. He confesseth, 'that where we are desired to try the spirits, there is no mention of trying them by the Scripture:' and to my question, asking, 'if there be any surer way of trying of spirits, than by the Spirit of God?' he returneth no reply, but another question, viz.

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'Whether there be any surer way, than that for which the Bereans were commended?'

Ananias and Sapphira were discerned by the Spirit.

I answer, yes, by the Spirit; Peter could never have discerned Ananias and Sapphira by the Scripture, and yet did it by the Spirit. To say (as he does) that this was a matter of fact, and not of doctrine, and that it was extraordinary, is a mere silly shift; for it was only by the Spirit of God; which is so ordinary to Christians, that none can be truly one without it, Rom. viii. 9. 'If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.' And if this Spirit can discern the secret hypocrisy of the heart in matters of fact, far more the errors and mistake of the understanding, in matters of judgment, which all grant to be more obvious.

And though I never averred, that John excluded all eternal rules, by pointing to the anointing; so his assertion to say, that the anointing directeth us to the law and to the testimony, as supposing it to be outward; is but to beg the thing in question already refuted.

Page 43. As he affirmeth, 'that man's being deluded proceeds not from the Scripture, but their own blindness,' so he acknowledges, that falling in delusion, proceeds not from the Spirit, but from the tricks and deceits of Satan; and thereby he hath clearly confessed, what is asserted by me page 30, and not answered. And whereas he adds, 'that leaning to the Spirit, and forsaking the Scripture, provokes God to give men up to strong delusions;' which he illustrateth by the example of one J. Gilpin, once a Quaker; who by hearkening to a voice within, was put upon mischievous and detestable practices.

I answer, he hath not proved, that we forsake the Scripture; nor will one man's being de-

ceived, by hearkening to a voice within, prove the Spirit not to be a certain rule; more than (as himself acknowledges) the Pharisees having the Scripture in such high esteem, and accounting them their rule, will prove their delusion proceeded from them. That story of Gilpin's was largely answered about five years ago by E. B. and C. A. who have laid open his deceit and wickedness; neither can any of these ridiculous pranks, (granting the matter to be true,) which he pretended to do by a voice within, while appearing to be among us, prove the insufficiency of that light we preach, or the hazard of following it, more than his beastly drunkenness, and open profanity (naturally known in the garrison of Carlisle, where he was a soldier) proves he was led by the Scripture (which it is like he then pretended was his rule) unto these wicked practices, which were the best fruits of that repentance W. M. seems so much to congratulate in him. Such filthy dross, whom God purgeth out from among us, are fittest persons to be proselyted by him and his brethren: and truly we are well rid of them, and can heartily spare such unto them: 'They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us: but they went out, that they might be made manifest, that they were not all of us,' 1 John ii. 16.

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J. Gilpin's story answered.

Page 43. He says, 'that though the Scripture be sufficient for discovering of delusions, and ending of differences in *genere objecti*, yet the Spirit is necessary, in *genere causæ effectivæ*.' Now this necessity of the Spirit, he saith himself, is, 'that we may be right discerners for removing our natural depravedness:' and now granting, the Scripture were sufficient in this manner; will it therefore follow, that the Spirit

1672. within is not the rule? which was the thing to prove in this section. In so far as he acknowledges this necessity of the Spirit's work, he hath yielded to the truth; yet it is observable, how, in contradiction to the truth, he overturns it all again.

Page 47, 48. Where he expressly pleads, 'for preaching upon, and using the Scriptures, without the joint concurrence of the Spirit;' alleging, 'I have no ground to say, they ought not so to do.' Then consider: *First*, he said, 'the Spirit was necessary to remove the depravedness of our nature, that we might be discerners, but now he says, we ought to use the Scripture without the Spirit, though our nature be depraved; yea, though we be in no capacity to make a right discerning. And here he hath notably manifested his affinity with the Jesuits, Arminians, Socinians, Pelagians, and Semipelagians, in saying, 'how many cold hearts have been rubbed and chafed unto spiritual heat, by reading and talking of the Scripture?' For is not this to set nature a work, and to grant a capacity in man to beget spiritual heat without the joint concurrence of the Spirit? and this is altogether agreeable to that known maxim of the Semipelagians: *Facienti quod in se est, Deus non denegat gratiam:* i. e. God will not deny him grace, that doth what in him lies. And hereby the intelligent reader may perceive, how much nearer akin our adversaries are to these errors than we, notwithstanding they so falsely and frequently brand us with them in their pulpits, and elsewhere; as also, that it is merely constraint, when they are hardly put to it, that they now and then, and that in contradiction to themselves, let a word or two drop concerning a necessary work of the Spirit.

Jesuits', &c. doctrine of the Scriptures.

Sect. 4, page 45. He allegeth, there is no

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convincing people by this rule of the Spirit within, because each way may pretend to the guidance of his Spirit, and so both remain obstinate: adding, that according to them the Scripture is the rule, which lieth patent to both parties; and though it do not actually convince the stubborn, yet there is enough in it to satisfy any inquisitive adversary.

Answ. And is not that Spirit sufficient to satisfy any inquisitive adversary, that is willing to be undeceived, which searcheth all things, even the deep things of God? there is no inconvenience can be pressed from making the Spirit a rule or guide, but the same recurs by making the Scripture one. For is it not laid claim unto by persons quite different in judgment, yea, both sometimes to one verse, and will have it speak opposite to the other? if it be said, that Scripture being compared explains itself: has not such, as have so compared, been found incessantly to jangle even in their comparing of it? and this W. M. cannot deny; but this hath been, because one or both parties have been estranged from the true testimony of the Spirit. What is then the ultimate recourse, that can only resolve all doubts even concerning the meaning of the Scripture, but the certain testimony of the Spirit? for if the Scriptures be only certain, because they came from the Spirit of God; then the testimony of the Spirit must be more certain than they; according to the received maxim of the schools, *propter quod unumquodque est tale, id ipsum magis est tale:* that which makes a thing certain, must be more certain than it. And this arguing against the certainty of the Spirit, checks not only at the certainty of the saints' faith now from the light within, and the assurance of knowledge, but at

Men of different judgments claiming the Scriptures without the Spirit falsely.

The certainty of the testimony of the Spirit.

1672. the faith and knowledge, which all the saints and holy prophets had, not only before the Scripture was writ, but even in their writing of them. We are in no greater hazard to be deceived now, than they were then; therefore the apostle notably reproves such prattlers against this certainty, 1 John iv. 6. 'We are of God, he that knoweth God, heareth us; he that is not of God, heareth not us: hereby know we the Spirit of truth, and the Spirit of error.'

Page 48. He asks, why I complain for his improving Isa. lix. 21, but mentions not one word of that part of page 33, of mine, wherein I show him how this Scripture made against him, as holding forth God's putting words in men's mouths; which they deny, as a thing ceased: this the reader, by looking to the place, may observe, that the Lord there promises, his Spirit and Word shall continue to direct his people, is not denied.

In his Dialogue, page 16, he says, 'that the Scriptures cannot be said to be a dead letter, because they are called killing:' and whereas I told him, page 33, of my answer, 'that as dead things do kill, if fed upon; so if men feed upon the letter of the Scripture without the Spirit, which is the life, they will kill:' he shifts a reply to this, telling me, 'the Scripture is called killing, as being the ministration of the law, which threatens death against the sinner.' What then? doth it therefore follow, that they are not dead, and deadly to such as feed upon them without the Spirit, which giveth life? It is an apparent malicious passion, to add, 'that the drinking in of the lifeless, poisonous opinions of the Quakers will prove hurtful to the soul;' seeing he bringeth not the least shadow of proof for it. I observe that he entitleth this

How the letter kills.

section, 'The Quakers' way ineffectual to convince an opposer:' and yet how is it, that he and his brethren are so afraid that it spread, and are daily so much crying out and clamouring against it as dangerous, entreating and beseeching people to beware of us, and comparing our words and writings to poison, as that which is so ready to gain ground? I say, how comes it, that they are so pressing in their importunate, and often reiterate pulpit-exhortations to the magistrates, to suppress, imprison us, and break up our meetings, as such, against whom their labours will prove altogether fruitless and ineffectual, if not assisted by the external sword. 1672.

Priests call for the magistrates' sword to defend their doctrine against the Quakers.

Sect. 5. page 49. He undertakes to compare us with Papists, as having learned our language about Scripture from them: but herein he hath notably manifested both his self-contradiction and ignorance. He allegeth, 'we agree with Papists, in that we say, if the delusion be strong in the heart, it will twine the Scriptures to make them seem for it; and in that we say, they are dead, and occasion sects and janglings;' whereunto we always add, 'because the Spirit is wanting:' and yet in this sense he fully grants it himself, page 43, saying, 'it is granted, that deluded souls do wrest the Scriptures,' &c. He concludes us one with Papists, for saying, 'there was a rule before the Scriptures;' and yet grants it himself, page 46, in confessing, 'the Scripture was not a rule to such saints, as lived before it was writ;' such then had some rule before the Scriptures. Thus far as to his self-contradictions. As to his ignorance; can there be any thing more sottish, to compare us with Papists, for our preferring and calling the light within, as that which only makes the outward dispensation

The saints had a rule before the Scriptures were writ.

1672. of the gospel profitable; and for our saying, that the Scripture is both our teacher, and our copy, according to which if we walk, we may profit without going forth for a copy; seeing it is known, none to be more enemies to these doctrines, than Papists? and if we deny the Scripture to be the principal and complete rule of faith, that proves us noways to agree with Papists; except we all agreed with them, concerning what is the rule of faith: wherein we differ wider from Papists, than our opposers. Therefore that sentence of Tertullian, viz. that 'Christ is always crucified betwixt two thieves,' is impertinently objected by W. M. against us; and if the Lord will, it may in due time be made appear to public view, that it far better suits our adversaries.

The more sure word of prophecy is not the Scripture, but the Spirit.

He looks upon it as a great absurdity, page 51, 'to deny the more sure word of prophecy, mentioned 2 Pet. i. 19, to be the Scripture:' alleging, 'I should have confuted the apostle, who expounds it so,' verse 20. But before he had been so peremptory in his conclusion, he should have first proved, that the apostle mentions these words by way of exposition to the former. Seeing he thinks himself so secure here, why did he omit to answer that part of page 32 of mine, where I told him, that, seeing the Scriptures have all their sureness from the Spirit, they cannot be more sure than it? For to say, that Scripture is more sure as to us, being a standing record, than a transient voice from Heaven, which may be mistaken or forgotten, answers nothing; seeing that more sure Word we speak of, is not a transient voice, but that Word of God, which is always with us, nigh us, in our hearts, if we be willing to hear it and regard it; and can far less be either forgotten or mistaken, than Scripture; for it

speaks plain, home and near, even to such sometimes, who would willingly both mistake and forget it, Heb. iv. 12. 1672.

Though I could freely refer his sixth head, concerning justification, to be compared by the judicious reader with that which is contained from page 34 of my last, to page 48, as being a confused mass, which needs no further refutation; yet because he makes a great noise here, I shall subjoin these few observations a little to unveil him in this matter.

And in his first section, from page 52 to 58, I observe, how hastily he passes over the charges laid by me to his door, page 43, which because he cannot clear himself of, therefore he hath not leisure to answer.

Secondly, I observe, how, after he repeats my words of our sense of justification, (which the reader may see at length, page 40 of my first,) he can say nothing against them; but only I seem to insinuate, they had no need of inward righteousness. It appears, his guilt has made him so jealous in this thing, as if I had been reproaching him; where I only give an account of my own belief. His accusing or suspecting me of fraud or cheating, signifies nothing, except he produce some reason for it.

In order to discover this, he proposeth, what may be the sense of the word *justify* in Scripture, as it imports the sinner's justification before God? Which he determinately affirms, only to be a pronouncing, or accounting a man righteous, and not a making him so: citing for proof Prov. xvii. 15. Though [justify] in some places may be so understood, as in this, which indeed hath no relation to the sinner's justification before God; yet where it hath such a relation, it may be understood otherways, viz. a making a man just: as in that notable ex-

Justification before God is the making a man just by an inward righteousness.

1672.

pression of the apostle Paul, 1 Cor. vi. 11. 'But ye are washed, ye are sanctified, ye are justified,' &c. For if [justify] here were not to make men righteous, but only to impute them or account them so, then washing and sanctifying were not real, but only imputative also: and at this rate the Corinthians could not be esteemed truly washed of their sins, which the apostle mentions in the former verse, such as stealing, drunkenness, covetousness, but only thought or imputed so: and this were to make the Christian religion a cloak for all wickedness, as if men were not by it truly cleansed of these evils, but on the contrary fostered in them. In these places also, justification was taken in relation to inward righteousness, Rom. viii. 30. 'Whom he called, them he also justified, and whom he justified, them he also glorified.' Rev. xxii. 11. *Qui justus est, justificetur adhuc*, for so the Greek and Latin hath it, which being rightly translated, is, 'he that is just, let him be justified still.' It is to be observed, that I deny not, but the word [justify] is sometimes taken in Scripture for pronouncing men just; though he falsely seems to insinuate the contrary.

Imputative righteousness a cloak for wickedness.

Thirdly, I observe his alleging, 'that our speaking of being justified by Christ revealed in us, is a falling in with the popish sense of justification;' adding, 'that our more full agreement with them doth appear in that, wherein I say we differ from them.' But here his shameless disingenuity is manifest, in that he hath not answered at all page 34, 35, 36, of my last, as to that wherein I show our disagreement with Papists; and how this manner of justification by the indwelling of Christ is denied by them, and particularly disputed against by Bellarmine. For to prove our supposed affinity

with Papists, and imagined opposition to Protestants, he formeth a question, viz. 1672.

'What is that, which causeth a man to stand pardoned and so just before God, and for which he is pronounced righteous?' Adding, 'that the Papists have herein recourse to infused righteousness, but Protestants to the imputed righteousness of Christ, namely, the satisfaction and merit of his death.'

But here is to be observed, how confusedly he hath tumbled things together, that ought to be distinguished; whereby he may the more securely lurk under them. Though originally the cause of both be the infinite love of God, in which Christ was given, who offered up himself a most sweet and satisfactory sacrifice, as the ransom, the atonement, the propitiation for our sins; but as to our being justified, it is by Christ and his Spirit, as he comes in our hearts truly and really to make us righteous: which, because we are thus made, therefore are we accounted so of him, as the apostle plainly intimates in 1 Cor. vi. 11. That it is by the Spirit of God we are justified: nor is this any connivance with Papists, who, as is above said, deny justification in this manner. And it is but to befool children and simple ignorants, that he covers himself so much with the general term of Protestants, as if our doctrine were generally denied by all such; seeing many, and that very famous Protestants, have been of our mind, and have eagerly pleaded for this real righteousness, as to justification, against his sense of it; particularly Osiander, one of the first and most renowned reformers of Germany, who not without ground averred Luther to be of this judgment.

Our justification is by Christ and his Spirit.

And Melancthon, in the Apology of the Augustine Confession, saith, 'to be justified in

1672.

The testimony of some of the first Protestant writers, concerning our justification in the life of Christ.

Scripture not only signifieth to be pronounced just, but to be made just, or regenerate.' Johannes Brentius and Chemnitius admit also of the same signification; so Epinus and Bucenus include in justification not only forgiveness of sins, but regeneration and righteousness wrought in us. And Borheus (sive Cellanus), a German Protestant, and professor of theology at Basil; 'in the imputation,' saith he, 'by which Christ is ascribed and imputed to believers for righteousness, both the merit of his blood, and the Holy Spirit given unto us by the virtue of his merits, is equally included; and thus,' saith he, 'we shall consider wholly Christ proposed to us unto salvation, and not a part of him;' Lib. in Gen. page 162. Again page 169, he saith, 'in our justification Christ is considered, who breatheth and liveth in us;' viz. 'put on by us through his Spirit.' And page 181, he saith, 'the form of our justification is the divine righteousness, whereby we are formed just and good; this is Jesus Christ, who is esteemed our righteousness, partly by the forgiveness of sins, partly by the restauration and renovation to integrity, lost by the fall of the first Adam; he being put on by us, as the new and heavenly Adam, of which the apostle, ye have put on Christ, put him on, I say, as a form, i. e. the wisdom, righteousness and life of God.' And Pareus de Just. Cont. Bellar. lib. 2. cap. 7. page 469. 'We,' saith he, 'neither ever spoke nor thought the righteousness of Christ to be imputed to us, that by it we were and might be named formally righteous, as we have oft now showed; for surely, that should no less fight with reason, than if one quite absolved in judgment, should say, he were formally righteous by the mercy of the judge.' These are the plain and positive

expressions of several famous Protestants; though W. M. reckons G. Keith's words, mentioned by him page 55, as popish, which are nothing different from these. And of late R. Baxter (whom W. M. page 37, terms, a judicious servant of God) holdeth this doctrine throughout, in his book termed, 'Aphorisms of Justification;' who, page 80, saith, 'that some ignorant wretches gnash their teeth at this doctrine, as if it were flat popery, not understanding the nature of the righteousness of the new covenant, which is all out of Christ in ourselves, though wrought by the power of the Spirit of Christ.' Page 195, he saith, 'how this differeth from the Papist, he need not tell any scholar, who have read their writings.' Hereby the intelligent reader may observe, how ridiculous, if not malicious W. M. is, in making such a noise, as if we were in this matter either going with Papists or opposing Protestants. 1672.

In his second section, page 58, though he would be making a great bustle of our speaking of justification by works, yet in the very entry he cannot deny, but he is for it, according to the true sense and meaning of the Spirit: and therefore it remains to prove, that ours is not so.

His alleging, from some words of Samuel Fisher, where he speaks of works having merit, saith nothing; for the question recurs concerning the signification of the word *merit*, which we use in a qualified sense: for we say, that works are no otherways meritorious, than as they are rewarded; merit and reward being relative terms, as I told him in my last, to which he returneth no answer. And thus is solved Samuel Fisher's using of that argument, mentioned by him page 60, (to whom he foolishly supposes, I cannot reconcile myself, without

1672. being of a higher strain, than for a reward of merit,) to wit, that as condemnation is the reward of evil works, so eternal salvation, and consequently justification, is the reward of good works. Now, merit in a qualified sense doth not import an absolute desert, according to strict justice, as on our part; but a suitableness, agreeableness, or congruity, according to these Scriptures, Matt. iii. 8. 'Bring forth fruits worthy of repentance;' the Greek word ἄξιος which signifieth meritorious or worthy: and the same Greek word is used in these other Scriptures; 1 Thess. ii. 12. 'Walk worthy of God,' 2 Thess. i. 5. 'That ye may be counted worthy of the kingdom of God.' And thus R. Baxter speaketh of merit in the book above mentioned, page 90. 'In a large sense,' saith he, 'as promise is an obligation, and the thing promised is called debt, so the performers of the conditions are called worthy, and their performance, merit; though properly it is all of grace, and not of debt.'

Works are meritorious by the promised reward upon conditions.

Moreover, whereas Augustine, Bernard and others of the fathers, use the word *merit* in this qualified sense, W. M. and his brethren can give it the right hand; but where we use it (notwithstanding we tell them the simplicity of our meaning) we must be upbraided with popery.

It is here observable, how he turns it to my reproach, 'that I seem to draw near, in the least, to any of the moderate sort of Papists:' and yet as to things, wherein I charged him of affinity with them, he returneth no solid answer, but says, 'I must not be credited:' yea, he plainly not only draws near, but fully acknowledges his agreement with them, saying, 'they hold some things common with the orthodox.'

Papists and W. M. agree.

1672.

His third and fourth section containeth not any thing of a solid reply to that, which is writ from page 36 to 44 of my last, which the reader by comparing them may easily observe. He begins, alleging, 'that Rom. iii. 28. Gal. ii. 19, must exclude all works, even the works of Christ in us; and that, because the apostle must be supposed to exclude either evil, or good works: not evil; therefore good: and consequently the works of Christ in us.' But as I told him in my last, some works may be good materially, which proceeding not from the Spirit of God, but man's own spirit, are therefore excluded: and thus the case of Abraham doth not answer, who, though a godly man, was capable sometimes to have done works from his own spirit.

The works of the Spirit of God and those of man's own spirit differ.

It is here observable, how he seeks to shift that which I enforce upon Tit. iii. 5, alleging, 'he mentioned it in opposition to justification by works, as the meritorious cause thereof:' But of this there was not one word, where he cites in his Dialogue, page 20. Nor doth he answer any thing for that, which I infer from this Scripture, showing page 40 of my last, (to which I refer the reader, he having wholly omitted it,) that by this Scripture, (where the apostle saith, 'according to his mercy he hath saved us, by the washing of regeneration,') the apostle includes good works, as to justification: now all this he shuffles over, as insulting, triumphing words; and yet notwithstanding he himself insults here, as though he had found us guilty of popery: though what we say in this matter, be no other, than what is clearly asserted by these famous Protestants above mentioned; and more particularly by R. Baxter in his book aforesaid, from page 185, to the end, where he says, 'that we are justi-

1672. fied by works in the same kind of casualty, as by faith, viz. as *causæ sine quibus non*, conditions or qualifications of the new covenant, requisite on our part in order to justification; showing, how the apostle Paul, in the places above mentioned, excludes only the works of the law from justification, and never at all the works of the gospel, as they are the conditions of the new covenant: and there he refutes W. M.'s exposition upon Isai. ii. 12. 'as if our justification were only justified by works, or we declared just by them before men.' And seeing W. M. has declared, he hath so good an esteem of R. Baxter, I refer him to read, how he is refuted by him, as being too large to be here inserted.

The works of the law excluded from justification; not the works of the gospel.

Page 65, 66. To overturn that, which is said by me concerning the faith, knowledge, and obedience of the saints, page 43, 44 of mine; but his impertinency will be more than manifest, if the reader does but look unto the place: for I show him, how faith was not always attended with doubting, by the example of Abraham; and therefore his example of the light and the air is foolish: for faith and doubt are not only distinct, but opposite; and not mixt, as is air and light: and a little gold may be perfect, and unmixed with dross; so may little faith be perfect in its measure, without doubting. And though the knowledge and obedience of the saints be not such, as there can nothing be added unto, or answerable to the infinite love of God; yet that doth not prove them, in what they are, to be defined.

Little faith is perfect in its measure.

His answer to that Scripture brought by me, 1 John iii. 9. 'He that is born of God sinneth not;' is most impious and antichristian; as if the words imported only, 'he maketh not a trade of sinning.' For accordingly he might

He that is born of God sinneth not; impiously explained by W. M.

argue, that where it is said, 'commit no adultery, do not steal, murder,' &c., it is only understood, that we ought not to make a trade of these sins, but yet might practise them now and then. 1672.

Page 67. He addeth, 'that (as the prophet, Isa. lxiv. 6, saith) not all our righteousness, which is of thy working in us, is as filthy rags; so neither as we say, all our righteousness, which we, even the best of saints, can perform of and from themselves, are as filthy rags:' from thence inferring; that because of this general term *all*, even the righteousness of Christ in us ought to be accounted as *filthy rags:* but for this he bringeth no proof; and as the prophet saith *all*, so he saith *our*, which implies it to be different from the righteousness of Christ. As he proceeds in the same page, he is highly confused. First, he says, 'it ought not to make us ashamed, that our righteousness (understanding that which Christ works in us) are as filthy rags;' and then he saith, 'that they are a special ornament to the soul, making it in beauty to resemble God:' And again, to get ground, he saith, 'that as so, imperfection cleaveth to the very grace of God here:' absolute *blasphemy!* can there be any thing more confused and contradictory, than to say, 'that which is defiled, as filthy rags, is a special ornament to the soul, or, makes it in beauty to resemble God?' What righteousness is as filthy rags. W. M.'s blasphemy.

In answer to page 45, 46, he replies nothing; only grants, 'that the saints in heaven are cleansed, but not on earth:' which instead of reply is a mere begging the thing in question. He closeth up the section to prove, 'the righteousness of the saints is defiled,' with his old instance of 'clean water passing through an unclean pipe,' alleging it, 'by me not to be

1672. weakened,' though it do noways answer, what I said against it, page 41, to wit, 'that spiritual water is not like outward water, which an unclean pipe can defile; but is like the fire and light, which though it touch unclean things, cannot be defiled, because every thing of the Spirit is undefilable, as is the Spirit.' And whereas he desires me 'to instruct him of an outward water, which is not capable of defilement; I refer him to a more diligent study in his physics, of which, it seems, he is very ignorant: and that he may not have reason to think this a shift, let him read the essays of the virtuosi in France, and those termed the Royal Society at London: and he will find such a thing both practicable and practised.

An outward water not capable of defilement.

He begins his fourth section, page 70, with a gross piece of disingenuity, in mentioning a part of my words, where I say, 'justification is taken for making a man righteous, and then it is all one with sanctification: thereupon alleging: 'I confound justification and sanctification:' whereas he omits the very former sentence, wherein I say, 'justification is also taken, as God's judging men unto eternal life:' but this deceit, the reader may at more length observe by looking to page 41, of my last. And in that he adds: 'men are not made righteous by an inward righteousness;' he doth greatly declare his ignorance: for if men can really be made righteous, without righteousness be really in them, by that which is wholly in another, then they might as well be really made holy, without any inward holiness: and this were rather to confound that, which God distinguisheth, and to alter the Scripture sense of the word *justify*. He allegeth, 'that Phil. iii. 8, disclaims the righteousness of Christ;' but brings no proof for it: and as to his commentaries, he

Men are made righteous by an inward righteousness.

must advert, he is not in the pulpit; and must bring nothing here without probation. And whereas I show, that this argument from 2 Cor. v. 12, is most absurd and impious, because accordingly it would follow, that as Christ was made sin for us, who himself knew no sin, no not in the least; so we may be made righteous before God, though we have no holiness, no faith, no good thing wrought in us: he terms this an impudent wresting of his words, alleging, 'that the strength of his argument lieth in that; as our sins are inherent in us, and imputed to Christ; so his righteousness is inherent in him, and imputed to us:' but he doth not show me, how this in the least solves the consequence above deduced, which followeth as before. And as for that excellent gloss, which he says, 'a certain one put upon these words;' it would appear the more such, that it had some shadow of proof for it. It is with a fool's consequence, that he calleth; this which I show, was (deduceable from his words) my inference, charging me with it, as if I were impious and absurd to imagine, that God should accept one as righteous in his sight, and yet his person remain abhorred, as an unholy sinner: did I ever assert any such thing? Or can there be any thing more ridiculous, than for him to dream, I imagine that to be true, which I reprove in him as false, absurd and impious? In the like manner he condemns me as impious, for insinuating, 'that they are against inward holiness,' seeing, as he says, 'they profess that without holiness none can see God.' It is true, they say so sometimes; and therein often contradict themselves, as is above remarked: yet seeing, they look not upon it, as anyways necessary to justification, and term the best of it but as filthy rags; their

1672.

W. M.'s gloss of imputed righteousness.

1672. seeming to plead for it, doth but bewray their ignorance and confusion. Now whereas to prove, that works of the pure Spirit of God are not all as filthy rags, I did enquire of him, if the apostles did sin in writing the Scriptures?

He answers, *First*, 'that it was a singular, extraordinary thing; and so supposeth, they might have been preserved.'

Secondly, he demands, 'what were the hazard to aver, that they were wanting in that, which they ought to have had?'

As to the first, it is but an evasion without proof: what singular and extraordinary thing is in some of Paul's epistles, which are concerning his outward occasions? And if the last be admitted (as I find, he fears, he will be forced to do) it overturns his example of 'clean water passing through an unclean pipe;' or else he must acknowledge the Scriptures are defiled, because they come through the apostles, whom his principles oblige him to believe not to have been perfect.

In his seventh head, page 74, he summarily passes over, and that by large omissions, what is contained in the 44, 45, 46 and 47 pages of my last, which, if the reader do but review, he may easily discover that silly shift which he useth, to wit, 'that he means to be thrifty of his paper, in answering the Quaker's self-advancing words.' Seeing he is such a good manager of his paper, he might have bestowed some of that he has lavished in the large capital titles of his many heads and sections, to show the impertinency or vanity of my words; and then he might have been the better credited, after he has omitted my answer, wherein I clear the Quakers from that calumny of exalting themselves; showing, they do therein no

more than all other professions have done, and do do. 1672.

He adds with a great exclamation, 'Oh! it is intolerable pride, to vilify all the saints and servants of God in the world, and to shut them out from being of Christ's stock!' A strange inference! according to which we must conclude, that because Luke called Theophilus Κρατίστε, or most good, that therefore there was none good, but he. W. M. will do well to go back to the grammar school, and there learn the natures of degrees of comparison; and when he has instructed himself there, he may next look over his logics, and there he will find, that *majus et minus non variat specium*, i. e. less or more of a thing changeth not its nature or kind. I suppose, he will not deny, but there are several sorts of Christians, who, though they do all profess Christianity, yet are more or less pure in their doctrine, discipline or practice. Is it not upon this score, that the Calvinist hath separated from the Lutheran; and the Presbyter from the Episcopalian? Certainly W. M. himself looked upon independency, as more pure than presbytery, when he separated with the Congregationists at Aberdeen, and communicated a part of them; and yet his practice now showeth, that he doth not exclude even Episcopacy from Christ's stock, though his independent and Presbyterian brethren do look upon it, if not within the walls, at least in the suburbs of Rome. Neither is this calumny against us, as if we trusted in ourselves, that we were righteous, and despised others, (for so he misapplieth the parable, Luke xviii. 9.) any other than the same, which those of Rome used against the first reformers, to wit, they were proud, and boasters, as if all the world had been in darkness before them; or as if

Luke called Theophilus most good.

1672. they were wiser than all the doctors and fathers of the church, seeking to innovate the order thereof, which had been confirmed by the unanimous consent of so many generations.

It is observable, how here, as in other places, he is so ready to lay claim to the Protestant churches, alleging, 'that in disdain I call them their flocks;' which is utterly false: I speak of their flocks as inferior to the people called Quakers in point of mortification; but that I intended thereby the Protestant churches, is but his groundless conjecture. I let him understand, I look not upon their flocks, as deserving the name of Protestants, and that because of their shameless degenerating from such, as were first so called; among whom, as I freely confess, there were several of a heavenly and spiritual conversation: so I look upon W. M. and his brethren's laying claim unto them, but as the Jews, boasting of Abraham as their father. After the same disingenuous manner he concludes, 'that the persons he spoke of in his Dialogue, as having such notable enjoyments of, and communion with God, were from Quakerism,' &c. But answers not a word of page 53 of mine, where I show, that those professors agreed with us in many of these things, wherein W. M. and his brethren oppose us; but particularly in the matter of the Spirit's immediate teaching. It is then likely, they would have been far from us, especially considering, that several, who have received and own the Quakers' testimony at Aberdeen, are such, who were the most intimate friends even in spiritual matters with these professors; whereas W. M. and some other of his brethren, who walked also among them, that are not come to own the Quakers, and degenerated, and gone back unto that, which all of them ac-

Some Protestants degenerated in time-servers.

knowledged to be anti-christian: for which their gross backsliding and degenerating, (to use rightly his own misapplied instance,) it is without doubt, these professors would have looked upon him and his brethren as monstrous, and abhorred their treacherous, time-serving turnings with the greatest detestation. 1672.

Head 8. page 77. He avers us to be guilty of equivocating, and that, because we say, 'we are for baptism; and yet are against baptism with water.' The reason alleged is, because baptism is commonly understood of baptism with water; and therefore to understand it otherways, he concludes, is to speak lies in hypocrisy, &c. But this conclusion is founded upon a supposition denied by us, and therefore it is a mere begging of the thing in question. For since we deny that common (because corrupt) acceptation of the word *baptism*, and give it the true one, (as in its place shall be shown,) therefore we are not obliged to put another meaning upon it, than we are persuaded it ought to be understood. But this calumny against us, as equivocators or liars, W. M. hath also borrowed from the Papists, who used to upbraid the Protestants, for saying, they were for, or of the Catholic church; because the Papist will have the church of Rome only to be the Catholic church: but the protestants denied her to be so, and therefore would not call her so; even as we deny the sprinkling with water to be baptism, and therefore will not account it that which it is not, but reserve the name to that, which truly is the thing according to the Scriptures. The corrupt acceptation of the word baptism denied.

The like may be said of the Lord's supper, I mean that which is so called.

Head 9. page 78. Because he can produce nothing against my concession of singing of

1672. psalms, he suspects, *I mean not honestly;* and that because none of his spies, whom he sends to our meetings, have had occasion to be witnesses to our practice in this thing, which says just nothing. Why might not W. M. his intelligencers fail him in this, as well as his brother David Lyall's did, in telling him, 'that there was not one word spoken among the Quakers at their meeting, the 3d of the 11th month, 1670?' Which, though a manifest untruth in matter of fact, he spared not to bring forth in his chair of verity, upbraiding the magistrates, as if God had miraculously sent an officer to stop or impede our worship; though they had refused to do it. The story of J. Nailor, which he subjoins, and may observe to be merely brought in to render us odious, and fill up the paper; though indeed it tends noways to our disadvantage, he being in that thing, and at that time altogether denied by us; and hath since in print freely acknowledged his fall in that hour of temptation: of whose sincere repentance and true return to the fellowship of the truth, we have had many evident tokens: whereas were we to retort, we could find a thousand to one among your church members, many whereof are daily knit up for thieving, murder, &c. and some burnt for witchcraft, without the least sense of true repentance.

J. Nailor's sincere repentance.

Singing by what instrument it is acceptable.

For to vindicate their manner of singing with a mixed multitude, he allegeth, 'that all men, yea all earth are called to praise God.' And though all be called to do so, yet there are things absolutely needful previous to this duty. And granting their want of praising to be sinful; yet the way to prevent this evil is, to come first to that, wherein they may be in a capacity to do it acceptably: therefore saith

the apostle, 'I will sing with the Spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also,' 1 Cor. xiv. 15. Where he speaks of singing, he always subjoins the instrument, wherewith it is altogether needful that we take it. And that the same may be urged in the case of praying, without any absurdity, in its place shall be shown. He says, 'it is no more a lie to use words in singing, which suit not our condition,' such as, 'I water my couch with tears;' 'my heart is not haughty,' than to read them: but there is a great difference betwixt reading and singing; in reading we but relate the conditions and actions of others, as wholly distinct and extrinsic from ourselves, but in singing we do really address ourselves to God as in prayer: and it is no less a lie, to sing to God words that suit not our condition, than to pray with them. The saints in Scripture used such expressions, as did suit the present posture of their hearts, in their spiritual songs, see Luke i. 46. and ii. 29. He shall not find me in the whole Bible, where they borrowed or sealed the expressions of others' experience, which no ways suited with their own condition: this is a mere human invention, which has its original from Romish vespers and matins, and from no other foundation. 1672.

Head 10. Concerning baptism, page 81, he allegeth, 'that John distinguisheth not the matter of his baptism from Christ, but only his work:' but his proof for this overthrows himself. For since, as he says truly, 'John could only administer baptism with water, but Christ with the Spirit;' this showeth them to have differed in the matter: for without doubt, John could administer the matter of his own baptism. And whereas I told him, they differed in the end, because the one pointed to the

John's baptism and Christ's differ in the matter and end.

1672. other, even as the shadow pointed to the substance; instead of replying to this, he tells me; 'that the Scripture speaking of John's baptism calls it the baptism of repentance, intimating, its end was to signify and seal remission of sins, which likewise is the end of Christ's baptism.' As this no ways answers my argument, so it makes nothing to the purpose: for it is one thing, to signify repentance and remission of sins, and far another to know and possess it; which is the end and constant fruit of Christ's baptism, Gal. iii. 27. 'as many of you (saith the apostle) as have been baptized unto Christ, have put on Christ.' And therefore it may be observed, that without any proof he concludes, that John's baptism and Christ's agree both in the matter and end.

And substance.

Page 82. As a reply to Acts xix. 2. cited by me to show, that they differed in substance, he saith, 'the meaning is, not that they were ignorant of the person of the Holy Ghost:' contrary to the very express Scripture words, viz. 'we have not so much as heard, if there be any Holy Ghost.' He saith further: 'that the apostles did not anew baptize such persons, that had been baptized with the baptism of John;' in direct contradiction to the Scripture words, verse 5. 'When they heard this they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus: and when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came upon them.' Now verse 3 showeth, that they were baptized unto John's baptism before; so let him clear himself here of giving the Scripture the lie, if he can.

W. M. contradicts the Scriptures.

Section 2. page 83. To prove the perpetuity of water baptism, he begins with that often answered argument of the apostle's practice, adding, that though Christ (Matth. 28) doth not mention baptism with water, so

neither with the Spirit,' alleging, 'that thus the one may be excluded as well as the other.' 1672.

Answ. Seeing Christ commanded them to baptize, it cannot be denied, but it was with his own baptism, which is that of the Spirit. He adds, 'that if baptism of the Spirit were intended, it would infer a needless tautology in the command of Christ, as being all one with these words, *go teach.*'

Answ. Teaching, and making men holy and righteous, are different things. For he will grant, that he and his brethren have been teaching people these several years, and yet he will have much ado, to prove, all their church members are really made righteous and holy; why then doth he account these two one, reckoning it a tautology, to express them severally? A little after he insinuates, (and that most falsely,) that I deny Peter's commanding Cornelius to be baptized; concealing my express words, page 58, which are these: 'and though it be said, ver. 48, that he commanded them to be baptized in the name of Christ, yet it holds forth no command from Christ; only the thing being agreed upon, that it might be done, he did do it:' this he hath left unanswered. And whereas he adds, 'that doing things in the name of Christ, is as much as his command.' He bringeth no proof for giving, but not granting, it did hold so. Matt. xviii. 20. in the case of meeting, that will not prove it is always so taken.

Water baptism not commanded by Christ.

To evict my objection against any determinate commission the apostles had of baptizing with water, because Paul said, he was not sent to baptize, but to preach, he returns, 'that if he had no commission, he would have baptized none: but he baptized some; which would have been of self-will.'

Paul was not sent to baptize.

1672. Answ. He might object the same as to circumcision, that because the apostle circumcised Timothy, therefore he had a commission for it; he would not have done it of self-will. His inference from Hos. vi. 6. 'For I desire mercy, and not sacrifice,' as if from thence Paul were sent principally to baptize, and not to preach, as God there required only principally mercy, not excluding sacrifice, is most ridiculous and inconsequential. Nor is there any reason produced to show the party, the apostles were commissioned to baptize, as principally as to preach. Go preach and baptize, are knit together: but the question is, whether this be a baptism with water? Which remains yet unproved. And therefore his additions to the Scripture is noways justified; as if Paul had been sent to baptize with water, but not principally.

Page 86. He undertaketh to prove, that Matt. xxviii. 19. is meant of water baptism, and not of the Spirit's baptism: the reason alleged there, 'because the baptism there mentioned, is the action of the apostles, and that to baptize with the Spirit is peculiar to Christ;' adding, 'that it would be a confounding of the duty commanded with the promise of the blessing annexed to it:' from thence he concludes, 'that baptism with water is to continue to the end of the world.'

Answ. The reasons prove nothing, and might militate the same way against teaching, which is also there commanded, as the action of the apostles: and though it be peculiar to Christ to teach by the Spirit, that did not hinder them to do it. Further, the very apostles by laying on of hands did administer the Holy Spirit, and so baptize with the Spirit, Acts x. 44. xix. 6. And this is no confounding of the

Water baptism not perpetual.

promise with the duty; for therein was the promise and blessing fulfilled, that they did it effectually: and therefore from hence he had no ground to conclude the perpetuity of water baptism. Moreover, whereas he cited in his Dialogue, page 39, Acts ii. 28. 1 Pet. iii. 21. Acts xxii. 16. Eph. v. 26. Gal. iii. 27, as holding forth the excellent uses of water baptism, though I show him page 5 of mine, that these Scriptures are only applicable to baptism with the Spirit, and not to sprinkling with water: when, page 87, he comes to reply again, he offers not in the least to prove, that they are applicable to baptism with water, which is the thing in question; but tells me, 'that those Scriptures strike against the popish *opus operatum.' Quid inde?* What then? Doth it therefore follow, that they are applicable to sprinkling with water? Who is so blind as not to see through such silly subterfuges? He addeth, 'that I proceed upon a wrong supposition, as if they thought, baptism with water were of itself effectual to cleanse the soul.' 1672.

Answ. I never proceeded upon such a supposition; that which I proceed upon is this, that they should call or account sprinkling with water, the baptism of Christ; whereas the Scripture declares it not to be so: 1 Pet. iii. 21. Baptism is not the putting away the filth of the flesh, &c. And also ascribe such Scriptures to sprinkling with water, as are only applicable to the baptism of the Spirit. Now this, as is said above, he hath left unanswered. Sprinkling is not the baptism of Christ.

Page 88. He saith, 'that the one baptism spoken of Eph. iv. 5, cannot be called the substance, and baptism with water the shadow, because they are the same thing. But this is pitifully to beg the thing in question. And thus W. M.'s arguments about baptism run round;

1672. baptism with water is the one baptism, because the one baptism is commanded by Christ; and the one baptism is baptism with water, because baptism with water is commanded by Christ. He wholly passes by that part of page 60 of mine, where I show, how absurd and anti-scriptural their manner of baptizing is; and thereby he comes the more easily to his conclusion in this matter.

Head 11. Concerning the supper, page 88, 89, he begins, confessing, 'that Christ's instituting of the supper doth not prove its continuance;' and here he carps at my speaking of it with this addition, 'the Lord's supper, so called,' asking, 'why I give it not the name the Scripture gives it?'

Answ. It is to be observed, that where I speak of it thus, page 61 of my last, that it is in my entry upon this matter, addressing myself to him, my words are, 'thou comest to prove, that the Lord's supper, so called,' &c. where I intended not that which was instituted by Christ, and had its season in the church; but that which they call so, but really is not so: though they seek from this to draw a warrant for it. And whereas I show him, that by breaking of bread, Acts ii. 42, is meant their ordinary eating: his answer is, 'that their eating is not ordinary, but sacramental; and the text speaketh not of daily eating, but a continuing daily in the temple; and that the Syriac exposition expounds it of the Eucharist.' But it is in vain: he thinks by his imaginations to overturn the plain words of Scripture, Acts ii. 46. 'And they continuing daily in the temple with one accord, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart.' Can there be any thing more plain, than that their breaking of bread here, was their ordinary

The breaking of bread from house to house.

eating? And as for his talk of sacramental eating, where doth he read of such a phrase in all the Bible? It is ill argued to say, I am ignorant of the way of some Protestant churches, who use breaking of bread once a fortnight, or once a month, because I say, their doing of it once or twice a year, is not according to the example of such as of old used it. Page 90, he adds, 'that though this eating, Acts ii. 46, be conjoined with this, that they sold their possessions, &c. yet we are to follow them in the one, and not in the other; because the one was to continue, and not the other:' but for this he bringeth no proof, save his own bare assertion. After the like manner, page 91, he saith, 'that though abstaining from blood and things strangled be commanded, yet the apostle Paul repeats it, extending Christian liberty, to whatsoever is sold in the shambles.' But according to this he might argue, that though abstaining from circumcision be there commanded, yet Paul's circumcising of Timothy might now warrant it. And whereas he asketh, 'if Paul circumcised any other?' what if he had not? Church history tells us, that many years after several bishops of Jerusalem were circumcised: it will not therefore follow, that was a repealing of the apostles' determination by the Holy Ghost, or that we should continue in the use of circumcision. He addeth, 'that washing of one another's feet, which was expressly commanded, was not, that we might practise it, but only to teach us humility:' for this he adds no proof; it is only his own conjecture. Upon all which I desire the reader to observe, how W. M. can find shifts, to evict those above said, which are expressly commanded by Christ and his apostles; and yet make such a great noise of our forbear-

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Paul's circumcising, no warrant for its continuance.

1672. ing water baptism and the external supper, which are not more particularly pressed. As also, how we can say far more against the perpetuity of these last, than they against the former; and yet they clamour against us, as if so much as to call the constant use of them in question, were to despise the ordinances of Christ, &c. He asketh, 'what clearer command there can be, than these words? let a man examine himself, and so let him eat;' but this question does not at all prove these words to imply a command. His folly is observable, page 92, where he desires, 'it may be observed, that the Corinthians were to be often in the use of it, because it is said, *as often as ye eat*,' &c. A rare argument, indeed, by which he might conclude, that to say, as often as a man sins, he offends God, did import, we should sin often.

So water baptism and the external supper.

It is badly inferred, that this thing ought to continue by divine authority, because the apostle says, 1 Cor. xi. 23. 'that which I received of the Lord, have I delivered unto you;' seeing the very following words declare it, to have been the account of the matter of fact, which he so received.

Sect. 1. page 93. He slimly passes what is contained, page 63, 64, of mine, alleging, 'I let off my great guns, but make a noise without any spoil.' The reader by comparing these pages together, will easily observe his lurking in this particular.

To my question, what the one bread is, spoken of, 1 Cor. x. 15, 16, if it be the outward or the inward,

He answers; 'it is both the inward and the outward, and yet but one in respect of the sacramental union, which is between the sign and the thing signified.' Now to this I answered in the end of page 64, of my last, that it cannot

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be called one, because of the agreement betwixt the sign and the thing signified, else by the same inference one might plead for the continuance of all the sacrifices and offerings, and say, they are all one with the one offering mentioned, Heb. x. 14. because they signified that one offering. And whereas W. M. reckons this a pitiful evasion, saying, 'any one many see a *non sequitur* in it:' it would have become him better, to have proved this by reason, than by his own bare assertion; though any may observe this to be his constant course, when other arguments fail him. As he proceeds to prove the continuance of this practice, he says, 'it cannot be denied, there was once a command for it, and there is no repeal of it.' But the same recurs in washing one another's feet, and anointing the sick with oil, Jam. v. 14. which were as expressly commanded, and never repealed. And yet W. M. can easily find a gloss to evict these, reckoning it a small matter to forbear them. He addeth, 'that the coming of Christ, till which the apostles were enjoined to be in the use of the outward supper, must be meant of his outward coming so many years after; because such to whom Christ was come in the Spirit, were found in the practice of it. But this proves no more its continuance, *necessitate præcepti*, (as he wordeth it,) than the circumcising, and being circumcised under the gospel, will prove circumcision to be binding upon us. He concludes, saying, 'that surely we are great enemies to our souls, that oppose this ordinance:' but answereth not one word of p. 65, where I show how great reason we have to forsake it; as also the many abuses, wherewith they have corrupted it: it sufficeth him to say, that it is meeter to pass it by, than to reply unto it. For part of it being about

Discontinued, as the offerings of old.

1672. the qualifications of persons, W. M. is loath to tell his judgment, lest he should harp upon the old independent controversy; it is dangerous to touch this string, especially while he enjoys his hire under the shadow of Episcopacy.

The ministry of the word owned. Head 12. Concerning the ministry, page 96, he hath nothing to say against my affirming, that the Quakers own the ministry of the word. Page 97, speaking of Eph. iv. 11. where Paul saith, 'Christ gave some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers;' he saith, 'the first three are extraordinary and temporary; the last two ordinary and perpetual.' For this he brings no proof at all, but that frequent argument, his own bare assertion. And whereas I told him, page 69 of mine, that the former three were not ceased; citing for proof Calvin who, Inst. lib. 4. cap. 3. avers, that in his day God raised up apostles and evangelists; to this he answers not one word. As he goes on, he repeats my words, where I say, that though we own the ministry not to be common, yet that doth not hinder, but that any may speak, as the saints are met together; according to 1 Cor. xiv. 31. asking, 'how I can make out, that in that place is meant an ordinary office?' Though it might suffice for answer, to ask, what reason W. M. hath, to frame here his distinction of ordinary and extraordinary? Yet it is obvious that the apostle is here presenting the ordinary order of the church; he needed not present an order to extraordinary offices: for such as are extraordinarily sent, are also instructed how to go about their office, and not limited to set rules, else it were not extraordinary. Page 98, he goeth about to prove this distinction of mediate and immediate, asking, 'if the pro-

phets and apostles were not called immediately? And if Timothy was not set apart to the work immediately, by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery?' What then? As the apostles being called by the Lord, did not hinder them from receiving the approbation and testimony of the brethren; yea, laying on of hands, as did Paul, who without doubt was as immediately sent as any of the rest, Acts ix. 17. so Timothy's having the hands of the Presbytery laid on him, doth not prove he wanted an inward, immediate call in himself. It is without any proof at all what he subjoins; that Paul saying, he was an apostle not by man, doth oppose himself to ordinary ministers. He adds, 'that seeing, I say, that those who come preaching the gospel, not in speech only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in the evidence and demonstration of the Spirit, give sufficient proof that they are called of God;' he thinks, I should have favourable thoughts of Protestant ministers, who have given such proofs of their call. 1672. The call to the ministry and laying on of hands.

Answ. He should have told me what these Protestant ministers are, whom he says we impiously censure; or by what rule he or his brethren would be laying such claim to be Protestant ministers, so as to exclude the Quakers from being such.

Page 99. Though he quarrel with me for saying, 'that with Papists he pleads for miracles,' he is so far from vindicating himself from this charge, that he giveth again new ground for it, saying, 'that such as assert an immediate call, ought to give tokens of it by miracles,' &c. adding, 'that though John did no miracles, yet his call was attended with extraordinary things, at his conception and birth.' Now this was the very objection which the Papists made Whether miracles are necessary to prove a true call.

1672. against the first reformers, to whom Luther and Calvin replied: 'that though they had an immediate call, yet there was no need of miracles.' And this objection of W. M. is no other than that which almost, *in totidem verbis*, in as many words, was objected to Beza, at the conference of Poizy in France by Claudius Dispensus, doctor of the Sarbone, who urged this very argument of John the Baptist, confirming his call by the testimony of Malachy, &c. alleging, 'that they ought to confirm their call by miracles.' To whom these are Beza his express words (Hist. Eccles. of France, p. 581). 'And as to what dispense thou allegest, that extraordinary vocation is always approved by miracles, or by the testimony of the prophets, I deny that it is always so verified. But if we must come to miracles, do you not think, that the changing of the life, the fruit, which is seen to proceed from this doctrine in our time by persons so contemptible, and so much persecuted by the greatest of the world, are not sufficient miracles? as said the apostle to the Corinthians, that they were the seals of his apostleship.' So the rational reader may observe, that notwithstanding of W. M.'s so often laying claim to the Protestant churches, and Protestant ministry, and crying out against us as opposers of them, he so directly makes use of popish arguments against us, and how we defend ourselves by no other, but the very same answers the Protestants gave unto the Papists. Yea of late W. Rett, present preacher of Dandy, in his book against Papists, printed but the last year at Aberdeen, doth plead, 'that miracles are not needful;' instancing, that John the Baptist did none. And so W. M., though he compare us to the Jesuits in his epistle, is so far one with them himself, that if his evasion

Miracles not needful.

may be esteemed of worth, whereby he seeks to overturn this example of John, when brought by us, he will rather furnish the Jesuits with it, to fight against his brother W. Rett, or rather borrow it out of their artillery, whereby they fight against Protestants, than miss to have a hit at the Quakers. May we not truly apply the instance in his epistle to himself, that he is sailing in one boat with Papists, though his face seems to look averse from them? 1672.

Page 100. He saith, 'Whatever inward call the elders mentioned, Tit. i. 5. Acts xiv. 23. had, yet they had not an immediate call, which is by immediate command and voice of God without the intervention of men.' But for this he adds no proof at all; nor is there any inconsistency betwixt being immediately called by command from God, and afterwards being approved of men; or that being approved and set apart by man, excludes having an immediate call from God. The immediate call of the ministry.

Sect. 1. page 101. He says, 'that Eph. iv. 13. is a pregnant and pertinent proof for the continuance of the ministry,' which I never denied. But this doth not answer my saying, that it is impertinent as to them who deny perfection, seeing that place says, 'the ministry is for the perfection of the saints.' Now to this he answers nothing; but that it cannot be gathered, that this perfection is on the earth, which is but his own assertion, yea, by himself thereafter overthrown, saying, 'that the ministry is given, that we may press after an absolute, full perfection even of degrees,' for it is a folly to press after this, if there be no hopes of attaining it. He wholly passes by my objections against their ministry, page 70, especially, in that they make not the grace of God a necessary qualification to the *esse* or being of a preacher, without so much The ministry is for perfection.

1672. as making any mention of it: where I also show, how contrary it is to the order delivered by the apostles in Scripture. Therefore his conclusion is false, to say, 'we cast off such a ministry;' seeing he was not able to prove theirs to be such, else he would not have wholly past in silence my reasons, showing it not to be so.

The sabbath— His thirteenth head, page 102, is concerning the sabbath, or first day of the week's being so; as to which I desire the reader first to take notice, that as we believe the apostles and primitive Christians did meet this day to worship God, so we, as following their example, do the like, and forbear working, or using our lawful occasions upon that day, as much as our adversaries. So that the debate is only, whether there be any inherent holiness in this day more than in an other? Or if there be any positive command for it from Scripture? particularly, if the fourth command bind us to the observation of it? And here W. M. notwithstanding of his great pretences, to the Protestant churches, doth wholly disagree from them in this thing; who are of our mind as to it: the generality of all the Protestants, both in Germany, France, and elsewhere out of this island, do look upon the supposed morality of the first day of the week as altogether ridiculous: which may be seen in Calvin upon the fourth command, Lib. Inst. 2. C. 8. Sect. 34, where he explains the signification of it, as we

Typifying a spiritual rest. do, viz. 'typifying a spiritual rest, wherein leaving our own works, the Spirit of God may work in us.' He there refutes W. M.'s notion as a Jewish opinion, saying, 'some false doctors have abused ignorant people with it:' adding, as we do, 'that the apostle Paul reproves such superstitions:' likewise he plainly asserts,

'that the keeping of the first day is only for convenience, and to preserve order in the church, that the saints might have a fit time set apart to meet together to worship:' which we also say. Hence doth appear the folly of that impertinent story mentioned by him, page 105, seeking to infer, that we agree with Papists, in taking away the fourth command, as they have done the second: for by this he might conclude the first and chiefest reformers guilty of popery, whereas himself agrees with Papists, both against the Protestants abroad, and us, in pleading for this imaginary holiness of the first day of the week, which in his Dialogue he sought to prove, because Christ did rise upon it; but to my answer, showing, he might from thence infer the rest of the popish holydays, of his birth, ascension, conception, &c. he replies not one word. He summarily passes over, what is said by me concerning this thing, page 73, 74, 75, which the reader by looking unto, may observe. He allegeth, 'the fourth command speaketh not precisely of the seventh day in order from the creation, and that the beginning and ending of it mentions the sabbath day and not the seventh.' *Quid inde*, &c. What then? Is not the middle of the command as observable, which saith expressly, 'but the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord?' There God himself expounds the sabbath to be the seventh day: and W. M. must not think we will reject this exposition to accept of his proofless glosses. My argument drawn from Col. ii. 16, 17. 'Let no man judge you in respect of an holyday or sabbath days;' and Rom. xiv. 6, which showeth all days to be alike: and Gal. iv. 10, 11. 'Ye observe days and months, times and years;' he answereth alleging, 'these reprove not moral days, but ceremonial:' adding,

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The keeping of the first day of the week, why?

All days alike.

1672. 'that the fourth command binds to this, and therefore it cannot be more abrogate, than any of the rest of the ten commands.' But this is no proof at all, only a mere begging the question; he should have more convincingly proved, that the fourth command binds to the observation of this day. Now the apostle in these places saith not, 'I am afraid of you, because ye observe ceremonial days:' W. M. hath no bottom for this distinction. He confesseth that Christ, Matth. xxiv. 20. speaketh nothing of the first day of the week; and therefore overthrows the inference he makes in his Dialogue from it. And what I further add, to show the folly of this inference from the Scripture, he hath wholly omitted; which the reader may see, page 74, 75, of my last.

Page 106. He says; 'O! the conscientious keeping of the Sabbath is a comfortable evidence of those that shall be admitted to this rest, viz. the rest of the Lamb.' But seeing these words are without any proof, they are only like to have credit with such silly, superstitious bigots, as Calvin in the place above mentioned reproves, and not with any solid serious Christians.

The Lord's day not limited to a particular day.

Sect. 2. page 107. To prove, that the first day of the week is set apart for the service of God, by divine authority, he citeth Rev. i. 10. 'I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day;' but whereas I told him, this did no way prove that day to be the first day of the week, because the day of the Lord, or the Lord's day in Scripture, is not limited to any particular day.

He answers; 'that these two ought not to be confounded; for all days, wherein the Lord executeth judgment, are days of the Lord: but the Lord's day mentioned Rev. i. is but one:' for this he bringeth no proof, but his own mere

assertion. As Ignatius, calling the first day of the week, 'the queen of days,' doth not prove that Lord's day, spoken of by John, to be the first day; so if Ignatius had been of this mind, and had esteemed of it above other days, that makes nothing against us; we know, this superstition was creeping into the church before Ignatius's time; therefore the apostle Paul warned the Galatians, Gal. iv. 10, 11. 1672.

To prove this day spoken of by John to be the first day of the week, he saith, 'Christ appeared to his disciples, declared himself to be the Son of God upon the first day of the week; that it is supposed, that was the day the Spirit was poured forth: and that Beza, in an ancient Greek manuscript, did find the first day of the week called the Lord's day. But all this doth not in the least prove the matter in question; except this may suffice for proof, W. M. thinks, this will infer the day of the Lord spoken of by John, to be the first day of the week, therefore it is so. There may be superstition enough found in old Greek manuscripts: it is near fourteen hundred years, since the Eastern and Western churches were like to split about the observation of Easter; and yet Protestants with good reason look upon that controversy, as both superstitious and frivolous.

Superstitious observing of days, the inventions of men.

Now giving, but not granting this day spoken of by John, were the first day of the week; How doth he prove from this that the first day of the week is come to Christians, in place of the Jewish Sabbath? or that it stands as an obligation upon them, as a part of the moral law, whereunto we are bound by the fourth command? which, though it be the chief thing in debate, remains yet unproved. Seeing, then, he has had very few proofs for these his supposed ordinances, but such, as are only bot-

First day of the week.

1672.

tomed upon his own affirmations; the judicious reader may judge, it is without ground he concludes here, that we deny the ordinances of Christ, and not the inventions of men.

Original sin not grounded in Scripture.

His fourteenth head, page 109, is concerning original sin, (so called,) which the reader, by comparing with page 75, 76, 77, 78, of mine, will see, that he makes no real, but a mere counterfeit show of answer. And I desire the reader first to observe, that neither here, nor in his Dialogue, he doth not so much as offer to prove, that this phrase, original sin, is to be found in Scripture: and for all his pretences to make the Scripture his rule, he hath no ground from this; but from popish tradition.

Our sense of it.

Secondly. That we grant a real seed of sin, derived from Satan, which Adam's posterity is liable to; but we say, none become guilty of this before God, until they close with this evil seed; and in them who close with it, it becomes an origin or fountain of evil thoughts, desires, words and actions.

And as by granting all capable of receiving this real seed of sin, we differ from the Socinians and Pelagians; so by saying 'it is not the children's sin until they do close with it,' we agree with Zuinglius, a famous Protestant, who for this very doctrine was condemned by the Council of Trent, in the art. of the fifth Ses. Conf. Trent, lib. 2. page 208. The acts of which Council not only against us, but against this famous founder of the Protestant churches in Switzerland is that, which W. M. is here vindicating.

Thirdly. I desire the reader may observe, that the thing he pleads for, is, that 'infants are really guilty before God;' that 'infants are guilty before God simply for Adam's sin; and that some of them who die in their infancy,

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and never actually sin in their own persons, do for this sin of Adam eternally perish.' Now whether this doctrine be suitable either to the justice or mercy of God, I leave the Christian reader to judge. I shall examine the reasons he brings for it. His chief argument for this in his Dialogue, page 76, was, that 'because children die,' citing Rom. xxiii. 'the wages of sin is death.' Now I show him, p. 41, of mine, how that made nothing, because natural death of the saints is not the wages of sin, for their sins are forgiven them, &c. This he hath not so much as mentioned, far less answered. And whereas he might as well argue, that the earth, trees, and herbs were sinners, because they received great decay by Adam's sin; he slightly passes it over, alleging, 'it will not therefore follow, that all mankind, who suffer death, are not sinners.' Now this is no answer, but a mere shift; and the thing I intended against his assertion, doth very naturally follow from my argument thus: if (as W. M. says) 'infants be guilty of Adam's sin, because they are subject to diseases and death,' then the beasts, who are subject to the like, and the earth, herbs, and trees, who have received their decay, are sinners before God: but this is absurd; therefore the other. Let him answer this the next time more effectually.

Whether infants are guilty before the act of sin.

The saints' natural death is not the wages of sin.

The first proof he brings here, is 1 John iii. 6. 'that which is born of the flesh, is flesh:' adding, 'this intimates, man by his natural birth to be corrupt and fleshly.' But for this his gloss he bringeth no proof: though that which is born of the flesh, be flesh; he showeth us not how it followeth thence, that infants are guilty of Adam's sin. After the like manner he concludes this his doctrine from Job xiv. 4. Psal. v. 5. But as the words in these places

Whether infants are guilty of Adam's sin.

1672. do not plainly express any such thing, so he brings no reasons to make his consequences deduceable from them. After the like proofless manner he allegeth, Rom. v. 14. 'by one man's disobedience many were made sinners:' now, though the matter in question be, whether these many were made sinners, before they actually sinned in their own persons? he doth not so much as offer to prove it. In the like manner, though David said, his mother conceived him in sin; he showeth us not how it followeth from thence, that David was guilty of sin before he actually sinned. And here I observe how he asserts, 'that men are guilty of the sin of their immoderate parents,' contrary to the plain testimony of the Scripture, Ezek. xviii. 20. 'the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father.' To prove infants thus guilty, he further addeth, Rom. v. 12. alleging these words, 'for that all have sinned,' includes infants; but I show him, this includes not infants, because the apostle clears it in the next verse, saying, 'sin is not imputed where there is no law,' and that there being no law to infants, they cannot be guilty of sin. To this he replies, 'there was a law to Adam, and that he represented mankind, and stood as a public person: therefore children had a law in him:' but for this signification of his own he produceth no proof, and it cannot be received, as being direct contrary to the Scripture above mentioned, 'the son shall not bear the father's iniquity.' He allegeth, 'that those the apostle speaks of, who sinned not after the similitude of Adam's transgression, are infants:' but after his usual manner bringeth not the least proof for it. The 1 Cor. xv. 22. cited by him, is so far from making any thing for his purpose, that it maketh directly against him; which

any, that have the least grain of true understanding, may perceive. The words are, 'as in Adam all died, even so in Christ all are made alive;' for here all are said to die in Adam, even as all are said to be made alive in Christ: now, as none are made alive in Christ, until they actually receive and join with his righteousness, so none die in Adam, until they actually receive and join with his unrighteousness, &c. He maketh a deal ado, pages 110, 111, about the Greek ἀφῶ, wherein though it were easy to refute him, were it not needless to fill up paper with grammatical criticisms. For, giving, but not granting, the words might be translated, 'in Adam all have sinned;' it will not from thence follow, that infants are guilty, before they actually sin: seeing *all* are said to die, or have sinned in Adam, even as *all* are said to be made alive in Christ; and yet none are said to be so, until they actually receive his righteousness as is above demonstrated. 1672.

None die in Adam, until they actually join with his unrighteousness.

Page 113. He allegeth, 'though it be said, that the kingdom of God is of little children, yet some infants are not saved, because they are not of the kingdom of grace;' but for this he bringeth no proof at all. And I here take notice, that he acknowledges, that God sanctifies and regenerates some infants; and thereby he notably contradicts his second section concerning the light; and page 29, of his Dialogue, where he condemns it, as a dangerous error in us, to say, 'any can be saved without the outward knowledge of Christ, of which infants are not capable.' To prove, 'that some infants perish even eternally,' he allegeth, 'the burning of Sodom and Gomorrah,' citing Jude vii. But his wresting this Scripture is very manifest. For the reason Jude gives of their

W. M. contradicting himself.

1672. suffering vengeance, was, because they gave themselves up to fornication, and went after strange flesh: now of this infants were not capable; of whom therefore Jude speaks not one word. He terms impudent, or else ignorant, for bringing Matth. i. 22. against them, alleging, 'it is an unjust charge, to say, they plead for a salvation in their sins:' and yet he has the impudence immediately to aver it himself, saying, 'they are but in part delivered or saved in this life:' do they not then dream of salvation, while in part they remain in their sins? Compare Matth. i. 21. with 1 John i. 7. Christ is said to cleanse us from all iniquity, not a part of it. It is a bad inference drawn from my assertion, that children are not guilty of sin, to say, that therefore they need not a Saviour: I told him in my last, Christ was truly a Saviour unto them, in that he kept them from sinning; as one, that is kept from falling in a ditch, is as truly saved, as he that is taken out of one. It is altogether inconsequential to infer from this, 'that Christ died to save the holy angels from sin, because they are not suffered to fall into it:' for Christ is said only to have died for Adam's posterity, of which number infants are, but not angels. It is likewise without reason, that he compares us to Pelagians; as if we took from Christ the name, Jesus, seeing it has been shown, we own him to be Jesus, or Saviour to all, even to infants.

How Christ is a Saviour to children.

He beginneth his fifteenth head, concerning the perseverance of the saints, page 115, alleging, 'that in saying, the Quakers hold not a falling away from regeneration, I seek to hide myself; because G. Keith says, that saints may fall away from saving grace:' asking, 'if saints be regenerate?'

Of perseverance.

Answ. Though all that be fully regenerate, are saints; yet some may be called saints, who are not fully regenerate. 1672.

Page 116. He allegeth, 'it is in vain to assert this falling away, because it is said, some who believed afterwards fell away, and some make shipwreck of the faith; and some who tasted of the good word of God, and the powers of the life to come,' &c. Because they use to distinguish betwixt seeming counterfeit grace, and sound saving grace.

Answ. Can there be any more palpable wresting of Scripture? For if so be, that faith which they had, were not real, they were not to be blamed for falling away from it; it were their mercy, to make shipwreck of that which was counterfeit. The apostle speaks positively, Heb. vi. 4. of the capacity of such to fall away, 'who were once enlightened, who have tasted of the heavenly gift, yea, who were partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted of the good Word of God, and the powers of the world to come;' he saith not, they seemed to be so: nay, the very context showeth the contrary, saying, 'it is impossible to renew such again to repentance.' Now had this been all in appearance, the apostle needed not to speak of renewing them again to repentance, or say, 'they crucify the Son of God afresh;' seeing if so, they had never been penitent, and been always crucifiers of Christ. Whereas in answer to Phil. i. 6. I told him, 'it might be supposed, that Paul was as confident, that God would perfect the work in himself, as in any other:' and yet he supposes the contrary, where he says, 'lest preaching the gospel to others, I myself become a cast-away.' To this he replieth nothing, but citeth another Scripture, Jer. xxxii. 29. 'I will give them one heart,

Who they are that fell away from faith.

1672. that they may fear me for ever.' Though God give them this, that they may fear him, yet such may abuse the gift of God, and so run out of his fear: he gives to all his grace, and yet it is said, that some 'turn it unto wantonness,' Jude iv. He jeereth at my answer to Peter, saying, 'a goodly reply, forsooth: as if he had said, if the saints fall from faith, they must fall.' But he might spare his insulting, until he had found some way to answer my words, which are, 'that those, that abide not in the power of God through faith, must fall away:' for he might as well scoff at all the conditional promises of the gospel, such as, 'he that continueth stedfast to the end, shall obtain the crown.' To say, 'that faith and the power of God concurs, to prevent the saints falling away,' answers nothing; for so long as these concur, we do not deny it: and though they be always willing to concur, yet it is clear, that some, who have believed not counterfeitly, but really, have departed from the power, and so fallen away, as is above shown.

Turning grace unto wantonness.

Page 117. Upon the words of Jer. xxxii. 40. he says, 'it proves the perseverance, or impossibility of falling away, because it is said, God put his fear in their hearts for this end, that they might not depart from him.' What then? That doth not prove, that they cannot depart from him: Christ came to his own for this end, that he might save them; and yet it is said, 'they received him not,' John i. 11. He says, 'I make short work of these Scriptures,' John x. 27, 28. John xiii. 1. 1 John ii. 19. because I say, 'they speak of those, who were come to a thorough regeneration:' which he says, 'is without proof.' But the reader, by looking unto them, will find, they cannot be understood otherways, than of such, as are thoroughly

regenerate: and it appears, he was sensible of this, having produced nothing to the contrary. And whereas he adds, 'that if those, who are thoroughly regenerate, were only to persevere, then this were the privilege of saints in heaven, and not in earth, who never come to be so. There can be nothing more ridiculous, than this manner of arguing; seeing that question, 'whether the saints can be perfectly regenerate on earth?' is as much in debate, as the other. That objection of his, as if from this doctrine it might follow, one were a child of God to-day, and a child of the devil to-morrow; I answered in my last, page 80, to which he returneth no answer: and therefore it is disingenuity in him to bring it forth here again. And whereas, in page 80 aforesaid, I show him, how he contradicted himself in this matter, by granting some of the Quakers to have been truly converted, and yet now to condemn them as apostates, he is so far from reconciling it, that he avers it anew, in plain terms, saying, page 118, 'that some of them have felt a gracious operation on their hearts;' and page 9, 'he cannot but think, that some of them were savingly wrought upon;' and yet adds, 'that it is clear, that they have apostatised from the truth.' Now to reconcile this, he hath nothing to say, but he 'trusts the Lord will convince them.' 1672.

Answ. As some of them, to whom he and his brethren were forced to give the testimony of gracious persons, have already departed this life, not only not shrinking from, but even testifying to these truths he calls error; so others, whom they have also accounted gracious, having been at death's door, have asserted the same truth, and rejoiced in it, which sufficeth to overturn his vain confidence. And truly, such

1672. a groundless hope is but a poor shift to reconcile so palpable a contradiction; whereby, while in words they condemn this doctrine of the capacity of man's falling away from grace, yet as to the experience of some particulars, they are forced to acknowledge it, for fear they should fall in greater inconveniences, of granting, some among the Quakers to be choice saints.

His sixteenth head, page 119, is to prove the 'danger of Quakerism,' as he terms it. But that his folly may appear in this particular, I desire the reader first to observe our principle, which he concludes so hazardous, even as repeated by himself, page 121, viz. 'that a man cannot, nor ought not to pray without the Spirit's motion: and to say, none can pray without it, hath no bad tendency; because all such prayers, as are performed without the help of the Spirit, are abomination, not true prayers, but hypocritical and deceitful.' Now he cannot deny this; and therefore grants it to be true: yea, saith plainly in the next page, 'that prayer without the Spirit is abomination.' And whereas he adds, 'that forbearing of prayer is also abomination,' we do not deny it; but freely confess, that forbearing of prayer in the wicked is sinful. But the way to prevent this, is not to commit a second evil, viz. to pray without the Spirit: they ought first to come to the Spirit, that thereby they may pray acceptably, according to that of Paul, Rom. viii. 26. 'Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities: for we know not, what we should pray for as we ought; but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groans, that cannot be uttered.' 1 Cor. xiv. 15. 'I will pray with the Spirit;' which being brought by me in my last, he hath wholly omitted so much as to mention: far less to answer.

Praying with the Spirit granted by W. M.

Praying without the Spirit availeth not.

1672.

And though omitting of prayer be sinful, yet to bid a man pray without the Spirit, is as much as to desire a man to see without opening his eyes. This thing may appear by a familiar example, thus: suppose a servant turn sluggard, and sleep, while he should be about his master's work; if when he is raised out of his bed, he should run naked to it, without taking along those tools or instruments, which are absolutely needful for the doing of it, what will he profit either himself, or his master? yea, he will but hinder the work more: even so the wicked, as they ought to pray, so they ought first to come to the Spirit, whereby they may do it to the glory of God, and their own souls' good. Now though this be so undeniable, that he cannot gainsay it; yet in contradiction to the truth and his own concessions, he goes about to cavil against it, alleging, 'it might take off men as well from their necessary works, because the ploughing of the wicked is sin; and that also it might follow from this, that children should not honour their parents, and husbands love their wives, but when they have a motion of the Spirit for it.'

Answ. This objection hath no weight to overturn the truth: for there is a great difference betwixt these things, that relate to the worship of God; and what relates to outward things, either concerning ourselves or our neighbours. The worship of God is a spiritual thing relating to himself, which we are commanded to perform in the Spirit; and God doth offer us his Spirit for the performance of it: and because it is that, which it merely relative betwixt God and the soul, he doth not accept of it, but as so offered; we cannot pray, as we ought, saith the apostle, but the Spirit helpeth, &c. Now, though these other things would,

The worship of God is spiritual.

1672. no doubt, be the more acceptable to God, and more frequently accompanied with his blessing, that they were done in the sense of his fear, and in the drawings of his Spirit; yet they are materially good in themselves, answering really their end to them, unto whom they immediately relate without it; but it is not so of prayer, which as it immediately relates to God, so W. M. himself confesseth, without the Spirit to be abomination. Thus is also solved his supposition, page 124, 'that if a wicked man contract guilt, he may provoke the Lord to withdraw the motions of the Spirit; and then his not praying is not sin:' for I have asserted, that the not praying of the wicked is sinful. And this doth not lull people in a sinful security; on the contrary, they are like rather to be lulled in such a security, by being told, they may be set about prayer, when they please: whereby they foster themselves in a groundless hope, because of their now and then repeating their words of prayer, neither expecting nor looking for the Spirit's assistance: whereby, instead of advancing in grace and righteousness, they do but reiterate abominations; and so aggravate their own guilt. And whereas here he is forced to acknowledge, that motives of the Spirit will not be wanting to the saints to pray, when they are at the gates of death, or in danger of present drowning: he asks me, 'what shall the wicked do in this case? Shall they not follow the advice, which Peter gave to Simon Magus,' Acts viii. 22. 'Pray God, if perhaps the thoughts of thy heart may be forgiven thee?' But here he minceth the apostle's words, which are, 'repent therefore of thy wickedness, and pray,' &c. here the apostle puts repentance before prayer. It shall not be denied, but when the wicked have repented of their wickedness,

The prayer of the wicked is sin.

Let the wicked repent, &c.

1672.

Craving a blessing before meat.

the Spirit will not be wanting to assist them to pray. It is therefore to little purpose, that, page 120, and 121, he pleads for craving a blessing, when we use the creatures of God; calling the neglect of it a profane custom: for we do not deny it; and condemn a profane neglect of it, as much as themselves. And as Christ had the Spirit without and above measure, having always a ready access to the Father; so we are glad and willing at such occasions to express words, if we find the Spirit assisting us so to do: yea, we reckon, that we ought not to use the creatures, without our hearts be in some measure retired to the sense of God's presence, and stayed in his fear, whereby we may secretly breathe for a blessing: for to speak audible words is not essential. And therefore it is apparently malicious for him to say, 'that when we are not stayed in God's fear, we have liberty and freedom to fall to meat;' my words had no such importance, though he seeks to turn them; and yet can wholly omit much of page 82 of mine, where I show their abuses in this matter, how they mock God in it, and provoke him to withdraw his blessing. And whereas he says, 'one of us confessed, that he had not called together, nor prayed in his family for a twelvemonth past:' he should have produced the person's name, that we might have enquired concerning it; and therefore until he do so, we can lay no stress upon it, but reject it as false: especially considering, that W. M. being particularly challenged upon this refuseth absolutely to do it; nor durst he aver, he had any better ground for it, than hearsay. Upon this occasion he asks, 'if Abraham must not keep up religion in his family, because an Ishmael is in it?' But this maketh nothing against us: for none of us, that

1672. are masters of families, have forborne to keep up the worship of God, though enemies of truth have been in it, whom we have not barred from being present, and for whom we have not been wanting to pray; though we cannot join with them in their prayers (as W. M. adviseth us) until first they repent of their wickedness. This was the method of Peter's advice to Simon Magus, first to repent, and then to pray, as is above showed.

Praying for enemies.

Sect. page 125. He says, 'Quakerism tends to make mortification of sin useless:' and to me (asking, whether mortification be useless, where the end of it, which is perfection, is attained?) he answereth, 'that perfection is two-fold, comparative and absolute; and seeing we are for an absolute perfection, there is no use for mortification.'

Perfection attained by mortification.

Answ. There can none come to this absolute perfection, (as he terms it,) but by mortification of sin: and even such, as are so perfect while on earth, do constantly use mortification to keep down sin, lest it rise again; and to resist the temptations of the enemy, wherewith even such as be perfect, are daily assaulted. He allegeth, 'I triumph before the victory, in quarrelling with him for saying, that a sinless perfection wounds the very vitals of religion:' but his silly subterfuge in this place may easily be discovered. I asked him in my last, 'that seeing he said so, whether the vitals of religion consisted in sinning or not sinning?' Adding, 'that if it consist in sinning, they that sin most are most religious; but if it consist in not sinning, then to plead for such a thing as attainable, hurts not the vitals of religion.' To this he answereth, 'that the vitals of religion consist in the means appointed of God.' Who seeth not this to be a mere evasion? Why did he not

give a direct answer? But that he could not, without either denying his former anti-christian expression, or else falling into palpable grossness. And whereas he adds, 'that these means are repentance, mortification, believing, application of the blood of Christ.' Though it be no answer to my question, I deny not, but that religion consists in these things; but I suppose, he will not say, that they are sinning. It is not in the least absurd, that one, who hath attained to perfection, may practise these duties; man, though he have attained to perfection, cannot too much repent of his former wickedness. And therefore it is without ground, that he allegeth, 'that I shift, and cannot deny, but the forbearance of these duties flow as a consequence from our principle.' Nor is my saying, (that they who come to perfection, witness the true use of these things,) any shift at all; though he be pleased to term it so without any proof, after his wonted manner; according to which he addeth, 'that under the pretence of perfection we take men off from the practice of these duties, and so strike at Christianity in the vitals of it;' which, though it fall of itself, as being a mere assertion, yet the contrary is abundantly shown. He saith, 'he doth not contradict himself, in inferring a sinless man to be sinful; he affirmed only, the Quaker's conceitedly sinless men to be sinful, who discover much sin in their pride, passion, bitterness, railing accusations;' adding, 'if such say they have no sin, they are but liars, and the truth is not in them.' 1672.

Answ. There was no such addition in his Dialogue, as 'conceitedly sinless;' but absolutely he said, 'bring me to the man, that is sinless,' and therefore his contradiction remains. Moreover, let him name that Quaker,

1672. if he can, that told him, he was 'perfectly free from all sin,' and yet was guilty of those crimes he speaks of? Else he can deduce nothing from his own false supposition.

The saints were cleansed from all unrighteousness.

Page 127. To prove the saints' continuance always in sin, he desires to remark, that 1 John i. 8. 'It is even such, who have heard, seen, and handled of the word of God,' &c. 'who say, if we have no sin, we are liars.' And here is to be observed his detestable impudence in adding to the Scripture words, citing verse 7. which he repeats thus: 'we, who are cleansed from the guilt of sin,' whereas there is no such word as guilt in that place, but only, 'we are cleansed from all sin;' which imports a cleansing from the filth: mark these words, verse 9. 'from all unrighteousness.' Now when the guilt is only taken away, and the filth remaineth, (as W. M. falsely supposes,) they could not be said to be 'cleansed from all unrighteousness.' For it is an improper speech to say, 'we are cleansed from guilt;' it is from the filth we are cleansed, and the guilt is forgiven us; therefore saith the apostle, verse 9. first, 'he is faithful to forgive us,' and next he adds, 'to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.' Nor will John's saying, 'if we say we have no sin,' import John himself to be of that number; more than the apostle James speaking of the tongue, Jam. iii. 9. saying, 'therewith curse we men, who are made after the similitude of God;' will prove James to have been of these cursers. Now in answer to me, showing, that that Scripture, 1 John i. 8. is conditional, else it would contradict what follows, verse 9. chap. ii. 4. and chap. iii. 9. he returneth no answer, but his own assertions. He saith, 'the 9th verse speaketh of forgiveness;' but it also adds cleansing, as is above observed. He saith, 'that 1 John ii. 4.

W. M. pleads for a cleansing from the guilt or punishment, but not from the filth or act of sin.

1672.

is understood of a sincere not absolute keeping of the commands of God;' but for this he brings no proof at all: he saith, 'that John iii. 9. whosoever is born of God sinneth not; is meant of sinning unto death, from which the child of God is secured:' the reason he gives of this gloss, is, because the apostle, chap. v. verse 16. speaketh of a sin unto death; which sin W. M. supposeth to be, that the apostle means, 'he that is born of God, cannot commit.' But to prove this supposition, we have nothing but his own mere assertion: reader, these are the best and strongest arguments he hath to prove his doctrines.

His seventeenth head, page 128, is to show, his doctrines not to be acceptable to the wicked; and his eighteenth head, page 131, is, to prove ours to be so: but he is so pitifully ridiculous in this matter, that such as have the least measure of understanding, and are unprejudiced, cannot but see his weakness. Yet that he may be left altogether without a cover, I shall answer his objections, and leave the unbiassed reader (as he desires) to judge, which principles, in their nature, have most tendency to strike at, or foster wickedness? To prove, that it is not acceptable to the wicked to hear, they must always sin, he says, 'some are so conceited of their honesty, that they cannot be convinced of their sins, and that mortification of sin is distasteful to them.' But how he makes this to answer the other, is not told us. If hypocrites love not to hear of their sins, it doth not therefore follow, that pleading for a constant continuance in sin, is not acceptable to the wicked; they may be the easier induced to acknowledge their sins, that they hear it told them for sound and solid doctrine, that they may be reputed good saints

Continuance in sin pleaded for, is acceptable to the wicked.

1672. and Christians, though they always remain in them. To prove that their doctrine of imputative righteousness, and of election and reprobation, is not pleasing to the wicked, he says, 'some wicked men scoff at them.' What then? 'So some wicked men scoff at the folly of Mahometanism;' will it therefore follow, their doctrine is good? The question is, 'whether their doctrine of men's being altogether reputed righteous in the sight of God by a righteousness altogether without them, and men's being elected to life from all eternity, without any respect to their deeds, be not more acceptable to the wicked, than to tell them, they must seek to be justified by the righteousness of God wrought in them? and as they are joined to the elect seed Christ Jesus, born again, and brought forth in them, which worketh all iniquity and all unrighteousness in them?' Now, this he hath not in the least offered to answer. After the like manner, whereas I show, 'it is more acceptable to the wicked to hear, that the outward letter is the rule, which they can bend and twine, than the inward, which cannot be so twisted.' He says, 'some wicked men could wish, there were no such outward rule; and that some understand not, what is intended by God's immediate speaking, but hate the ministry of the word.' Both which answers make nothing to the purpose. What? though wicked men hate the Scripture and the ministry, doth it therefore follow, that it is not more acceptable to them to hear, this is their only rule, which they can twine as they please, than the inward, which cannot be twined, as the Scriptures may, nor bribed, as the ministry of men? He confesses, 'they allow of laces, ribbons, gold rings, &c. and other superfluities;' and therefore 'cannot deny, but that their

doctrine therein is acceptable to the wicked:' his shift is here, 'that people ought not to exceed their rank and quality;' alleging, 'the apostle only condemns this,' 1 Tim. ii. 9. But that his detestable wresting of the Scripture may be manifest, I shall cite the apostle's words: 'in like manner also, that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety; not with broidered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array.' Is there any word here, that they should only not exceed their rank? Who cannot but abominate his abusing of Scripture? and whereas he says, 'he thinks they should be sparing of lawful games and recreations,' it seems, their deeds suit not their thoughts in this matter; or else it must be accounted a sparingness with him, not only to spend much of the day in field-sports, but even largely of the night in carding, &c. For so to my certain knowledge, some of his brethren in the priesthood of the synod of Aberdeen are found doing, and justifying themselves in it. As to the sabbath, he offereth not in the least to answer that, wherein I show, it was acceptable to the wicked according to the same rate. In answer to my assertion, that the wicked love well to hear, that they may be members of the church, without having infallible evidence of holiness: he asketh, 'if all the members of the Quakers' church have so?' adding, 'that our raw, conceited proselytes are so ignorant, and yet so confident, that sober men suspect them to be in a fool's paradise.' First, as this is a mere shift, and no reply, to disprove the principle aforesaid, to be acceptable to the wicked, so likewise, if his spirit had not been in a raw, conceited posture, filled both with ignorance and confidence, he had not suffered himself so far to fall in a

1672.

Modest apparel.

The sabbath.

1672. fool's paradise, as to imagine, this his mere proofless calumny, with many more his groundless assertions, would have any weight with sober men, not being backed with any argument. He addeth, 'their doctrine, once in grace, and ever in grace, hath no tendency to please the wicked, because such never had grace; and therefore have no ground to think, that belongeth unto them.' But seeing he himself confesseth, 'that such, as had true grace, may fall both unto detestable practices, and blasphemous or erroneous principles; may not such then foster themselves in these evils, by saying, 'that since they once had true grace, they can never totally fall from it?' That part of page 47, 48, of mine, where I show by example, how the wicked living among them, and being their church-members, and also opposing and vilifying us, did declare their principles to be more acceptable to the wicked than ours, he hath wholly waived: It seems, he knew of no shift, how to shuffle by this, and therefore found it fittest altogether to omit it.

Head 18. page 131. He saith, 'the Quakers' religion is exceeding suitable to carnal hearts,' and thereupon he instanceth some particulars, saying, 'they are pleasing to the wicked, without offering any reason.' The reader, upon the particular debate of these matters in their places, will observe how he was necessitated, to bottom this conclusion of these principles being suitable to carnal hearts, upon the mere credit of his own affirmation; 'and therefore it is no wonder he adds, that he is wearied, raking in this dunghill.' It is high time for him to leave off trampling in such miry stuff, as is the whole bulk of his book: and no doubt, a dunghill is a very fit term for such a dirty product, as is these drossy dregs of his dark understanding.

W. M. is wearied with raking his own dunghill.

I charged him in the end of mine for lying to God, for that in the prayer he endeth his Dialogue with, he useth these words, 'follow with thy blessing that which we have been about:' which now he is so far from clearing himself of, that he now acknowledges, it was only a supposed conference, and therefore it was a lie, yea, a mocking of God, to desire him to accompany a mere supposition with his blessing. As for his expressing pity towards the seduced, and wishing God to reclaim them, it was not for that I challenged him; but for his desiring God to accompany with his blessing a mere chimera, which never was; and therefore his best shift for this is, 'what is it, that some men will not carp at, especially the Quakers?' of whom he addeth, 'a pious minister hath said, that their religion consists in railing;' and then he goes on, and tells some terms, wherewith, that person says, the Quakers have named the ministers of Christ. 1672.

Answ. First, the testimony of his supposed pious minister is no more to be received in this case, than W. M. his own; and to say, the Quakers gave these names he mentions to the ministers of Christ, is to take for granted the thing in debate, for the Quakers deny them to be such; and is just one, as if a Papist should say, Luther and his associates' religion consisted in railing, because they called (as to the Papists) their holy mother the church of Rome a strumpet, a whore, the mother of fornications, Babylon, &c. and all her devout clergy no better than Baal's priests, filthy dogs, blind guides, liars, dissemblers, &c. and all these other denominations, W. M. mentions the Quakers give his brethren. Dare he deny, but there are some of his fraternity guilty of all these terms? and what knoweth he, but the

1672. Quakers have applied them aright? It is manifest enough, some of these terms are too applicable to them all, such as blind guides, persecutors. It is here observable, that among all these denominations he alleges the Quakers give him and his brethren, he hath omitted the two, both most frequently used against them by the Quakers, and most universally deserved by his fellow priests, viz. hirelings and time servers. It seems he feared, every reader would have found them applicable: herein do we find ourselves justified both before God and good men, that we have named them no otherways, than as their guilt deserved: and that we have no enmity nor hatred at any man's person, nor have desired to harm it. Whereas while they plead forbearance for themselves, that we should not speak the truth plainly to them, and of them, terming our so doing railing and reviling; yet they are not ashamed to speak all manner of evil falsely against us, railing at us without a cause, and not only so, but stirring up (so far as they can) the magistrate, to cause us to be beat, imprisoned and persecuted both in our bodies, estates and liberties, by offering to banish us out of our native countries: yea, and cut us off (if they could) from the face of the earth; let the unprejudiced judge, who shows forth here most meekness, or most wrath?

Blind guides, persecutors, hirelings, time servers, W. M.'s supposed pious ministers.

POSTSCRIPT.

Whereas W. M. in his fifth head, concerning the Scriptures, and in his twelfth head, page 96, concerning the ministry, allegeth, 'that these words of the apostle Paul, mentioned by

me, 1 Cor. xiv. 30. *Ye may all prophesy one by one*, are restricted to prophets, &c. not for the common order of the church:' adding, 'that except we could prove all our teachers to be prophets, we ought not to lay claim to that Scripture:' I would desire him to answer his brother Samuel Rutherford's (professor of divinity at St. Andrew's, so called, who in his book, entitled, 'The Due Right of Presbytery,' page 466, 467) eight arguments, wherein he hath proved it to be of pastors, &c. not of extraordinary prophets, and thereby hath saved me that labour. 1672.

Pastors are called prophets.

This coming to my hands, after the other was committed to the press, was the cause of its not being inserted in the due place.

1672.

A Seasonable Warning, and Serious Exhortation to, and Expostulation with, the Inhabitants of Aberdeen, concerning this present dispensation and day of God's living visitation towards them.

Great, unutterably great! O ye inhabitants! is the love of God, which flows in my heart towards you, and in bowels of unspeakable compassion am I opened, am I enlarged unto you in the sight and sense of your conditions, which the Lord hath discovered and revealed unto me. O that your eyes were opened, that ye might see and behold this day of the Lord! and that your ears were unstopped, to hear his voice, that crieth aloud, and calleth one and all of you, to *repentance!* And that your hearts were softened and inclined to discern and perceive this blessed hour of his present visitation, which is come unto you! He hath lifted up a standard in the midst of you, and among your brethren; he hath called already a remnant, and enrolled them under his banner, and he is calling *all* to come; he hath not left one without a witness; blessed are they that receive him, and hear him in this day of his appearance. He hath sent forth, and is daily sending forth his servants and messengers, to invite you to come and partake with him of the supper of the feast which he hath prepared! And among many others, whom at sundry times he hath caused to sound forth his testimony, I also have, in the name, and power, and authority of God, proclaimed his everlasting gospel among you, and preached, and held forth the glad tidings of this glorious dispensation, which is Christ, manifesting and revealing himself in and by his light and spirit in the hearts of all men, to lead them out of all unrighteousness

and filthiness both of flesh and spirit; unto all righteousness, truth, holiness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. But because many of you have despised this day, and as ye have made merry over God's witness in your hearts, not liking there to entertain him in his meek, lowly, yet lovely appearance; so have ye despised, mocked, and rejected that which testifieth to this witness without you. Therefore was I commanded of the Lord God, to pass through your streets covered with sackcloth and ashes, calling you to *repentance*, that ye might yet more be awakened, and alarmed to take notice of the Lord's voice unto you, and not to despise these things, which belong to your peace, while your day lasteth, lest hereafter they be hid from your eyes. And the command of the Lord concerning this thing came unto me that very morning, as I awakened, and the burthen thereof was very great; yea, seemed almost insupportable unto me (for such a thing, until that very moment, had never entered me before, not in the most remote consideration). And some, whom I called to declare to them this thing, can bear witness, how great was the agony of my spirit, how I besought the Lord with tears, that this cup might pass away from me! Yea, how the pillars of my tabernacle were shaken, and how exceedingly my bones trembled, until I freely gave up unto the Lord's will. And this was the end and tendency of my testimony, to call you to repentance by this signal and singular step; which I, as to my own will and inclination, was as unwilling to be found in, as the worst and the wickedest of you can be averse from receiving, or laying it to heart. Let all and every one of you, in whom there is yet alive the least regard to God, or his fear, consider and weigh this matter

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1672. in the presence of God, and by the Spirit of Jesus Christ in your hearts, which makes all things manifest; search and examine every one his own soul, how far this warning and voice of the Lord is applicable unto them; and how great need they have to be truly humbled in their spirits; returning to the Lord in their inward parts with such true and unfeigned repentance, as answers to the outward clothing of sackcloth, and being covered with ashes. And in the fear and name of the Lord, I charge all upon this occasion, to beware of a slight, frothy, jeering, mocking spirit: for though such may be permitted to insult for a season, yet 'God will turn their laughter into howling, and will laugh when their calamity cometh:' and such are seen to be in one spirit with those, who spat in the face of the Lord Jesus, and buffeting him, bid him prophesy who smote him. Therefore consider, O ye inhabitants, and be serious, standing in fear; where are ye who are called Christians? among whom it is become a wonder, a stone of stumbling, or matter of mockery, or a ground of reproach, for one in the name of the *Lord* to invite you to repentance in sackcloth and ashes! Would not the heathen condemn you in this thing? And will not Nineveh stand up in judgment against you? How is it, that ye that are called Christians, can willingly give room to every idle mountebank, and can suffer your minds to be drawn out to behold these sinful divertisements, which indeed divert the mind from the serious sense of God's fear? The people can be gathered there, and neither the magistrates complain of tumult, nor yet preachers nor professors cry out against it as delusion or madness. O my friends, consider, can there be any more strongly deluded than

for people daily to acknowledge and confess they are sinners, and sinning in words, and to startle at that which did so lively represent unto them, what they own to be their condition? Were it in good earnest, or were it from a true sense of your sins, that ye so frequently seem to acknowledge them, ye would not despise nor overlook that which calleth you to repentance for it. How is it that you can so confidently array yourselves in all manner of gaudy and superfluous apparel, and exceed in lustful powderings and perfumes, and yet are ashamed and amazed at sackcloth and ashes, which, according to your own acknowledgement, is so suitable to your states? Is not this to glory in your shame, and to be ashamed of that which ought to be, and would be your greatest glory, to wit, true and unfeigned repentance? I shall add, that which upon this occasion I declared unto you, I was for a sign from the Lord unto you. I desire, ye may not be among those that wonder and perish, but rather repent and be saved. And this is my testimony unto you, whether you will hear or forbear; I have peace with my God in what I have done, and am satisfied that his requirings I have answered in this thing. I have not sought yours, but you; I have not coveted your gold or silver, or any thing else; nor do I retain, or entertain the least hatred, grudge, or evil will towards any within or without your gates, but continue in pure and unfeigned love towards all and every one of you, even those who do most despise or reject me and my testimony, being ready to bless those that curse, and to do good to those that despitefully use me; and to be spent in the will of the Lord for your sakes, that your souls may be saved, and God over all may be glorifi- 1672.

1672. ed; for which I travel, and cry before the Throne of Grace, as becometh a servant of the Lord Jesus Christ.

ROBERT BARCLAY.

This came before me to signify unto you by writing at Ury, the 12th of the first month, 1672.

After this paper was committed to the press, some queries concerning this matter were sent to a Friend in Aberdeen, by one who, in the inscription, styles himself a sober inquirer, which mask he quickly pulled off, either for want of wit, or from too much malice against the truth, by spreading these queries at the same time among several hands, which no truly sober inquirer would have done, until he had first received, or been refused satisfaction from him, to whom he particularly directed them. In order, therefore, to dispel such cloudy mists, as the enemy seeks to raise for darkening the day of God's appearance through his children, these answers are judged fit to be here annexed.

The premises and queries following upon them, being all one on the matter, the first being positions in general, and the other the particular application of them hereto, they need not different answers; both of them are herein comprehended and implied, as any that will be at the pains to look after the queries, and compare them, may observe.

To the first is therefore answered:

1. R. B. denies his message to have proceeded from any light or illumination in him as a man, but from the immediate testimony of the Spirit of God in his heart, a manifestation of which Spirit is given to every man to profit withal, according to the plain testimony

of the Scriptures, 1 Cor. xii. 7. 1 John ii. 20. 27. Heb. viii. 10, 11, 12, the which Spirit and anointing teaches all the saints under the new covenant, whereunto an audible voice is not required; for this is said to be within them, and not without them. Nor can it be proved, that God spake always to the prophets by an audible voice, or that such a thing is requisite to every true revelation, received from the Spirit; else none could be truly certain, that the Scriptures came from the Spirit of God, until they received an audible voice by the outward ear, confirming them of it: nor could any have the assurance of salvation without the same; both which the generality of Protestants hold needful to believers, and Calv. Inst. lib. 1. cap 7. sect. 4. cap. 8. sect. 1. lib. 3. cap. 1. sect. 4. cap. 3. sect. 39. that by the inward, secret testimony of the Spirit, without an audible voice. Nor was John Huss his prophecy of Luther, or George Wishart's of the cardinal's death, alleged to have proceeded from an outward audible voice, and yet proved both true; as likewise several others of latter years, which might be mentioned. 1672.

2. A message thus delivered from the testimony of the Spirit of God in the heart, reaches to the manifestation of the same Spirit in the hearts of those, to whom it is delivered, if they wilfully do not resist and shut it out. Thus the Ninevites were reached at the call of Jonah, and those who heard Peter were pricked in their hearts; yet neither the one or the other had such an immediate particular call as Jonah and Peter had; but the testimony of the Spirit through these two, touched, reached, and raised that of God in their hearts, and made it applicable unto them. Yet those that despise this light and manifestation of God in them-

1672. selves, may come to jeer, and mock at a message proceeding from it through another, even as the Scribes and Pharisees did at Christ; and therefore were worthy of condemnation, and judged by the heathen, such as Tyre and Sidon, and Nineveh. Even as it is with those of the same spirit at this day, who, while they cry up the writings of the prophets, and other Scriptures, (as did the Pharisees,) are despising prophesying, or the teaching, or leadings of the Spirit, which the apostle declared to be the nature of the new covenant dispensation: and therefore no wonder, if, according to the Scripture, Prov. xxviii. 18. 'where there is no vision, the people perish.'

3. The assisters to this action having had the thing declared unto them, retiring to the inward testimony of the same Spirit in themselves, did feel union therewith; and such as went along, did not only find a true liberty, (which might have sufficed,) but some of them a necessity to concur with it. And as for the carrying of the hat and cloak, it was altogether extrinsic, being neither essential nor circumstantial to the thing, nor so looked upon by those who did it: yet the carping threat shows in the proposer a critical mind, very void of seriousness, which the Lord, as of purpose to starve, hath permitted him to build that part of the query in relation to A. H.'s wife upon a false report, the thing being a manifest untruth.

And in answer to the second proposition of the premises, it is the alone immediate testimony of the Spirit of God, that can truly discover all false pretenders and delusions: which if any can, let them deny, without overturning the basis of all Christian religion, and rendering the faith of the saints in all ages uncertain.

R. B.

A CATECHISM

AND

CONFESSION OF FAITH,

APPROVED OF AND AGREED UNTO BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PATRIARCHS, PROPHETS, AND APOSTLES, CHRIST HIMSELF CHIEF SPEAKER IN AND AMONG THEM:

Which containeth a true and faithful account of the Principles and Doctrines, which are most surely believed by the churches of Christ in Great Britain and Ireland, who are reproachfully called by the name of Quakers; yet are found in the one faith with the primitive church and saints, as is most clearly demonstrated by some plain Scripture testimonies, (without consequences and commentaries,) which are here collected and inserted by way of answer to a few weighty, yet easy and familiar Questions, fitted as well for the wisest and largest, as for the weakest and lowest capacities.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

An Expostulation with, and Appeal to, all other Professors.

BY ROBERT BARCLAY,

A SERVANT OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

John v. 39, 40. "Search the Scriptures," (or, ye search the Scriptures,) "for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me, that ye might have life."

PREFACE TO THE READER.

READER,

Since first that great apostacy took place in the hearts and heads of those, who began even in the apostle's days to depart from the simplicity and purity of the gospel, as it was then delivered in its primitive splendour and integrity; innumerable have been the manifold inventions and traditions, the different and various notions and opinions, wherewith man (by giving way to the vain and airy imaginations of his own unstable mind) hath burdened the Christian faith; so that, indeed, first by adding these things, and afterwards by equalling them, if not exalting them above the truth, they have at last come to be substitute in the stead of it: so that in process of time, truth came to be shut out of doors, and another thing placed in the room thereof, having a show and a name, but wanting the substance and thing itself. Nevertheless it pleased God to raise up witnesses for himself almost in every age and generation, who, according to the discoveries they received, bore some testimony, less or more, against the superstition and apostacy of the time, and in special manner through that appearing of the light, which first broke forth in Germany about one hundred and fifty years ago, and afterwards reached divers other nations, the beast received a deadly wound: and a very great number did at one time protest against, and rescind from the church of Rome in divers of their most gross and sensual doctrines and superstitious traditions. But, alas! it is for matter of lamentation, that the successors of these Protestants are establishing and building up in themselves that which their fathers were pulling down, instead of prosecuting and going on with

so good and honourable a work, which will easily appear.

The generality of all Protestants (though in many other things miserably rent and shattered among themselves) do agree in dividing from the church of Rome in these two particulars:

First, that every principle and doctrine of the Christian faith is, and ought to be founded upon the Scripture; and that whatsoever principles or doctrines are not only not contrary, but even not according thereto, ought to be denied as anti-christian.

Secondly, that the Scriptures themselves are plain and easy to be understood, and that every private Christian and member of the church ought to read and peruse them, that they may know their faith and belief founded upon them, and receive them for that cause alone; and not because any church or assembly has compounded and recommended them: the choicest and most pure of which they are obliged to look upon as fallible.

Now, contrary to this their known and acknowledged principle, they do most vigorously prosecute and persecute others with the like severity, the Papists did their fathers, for believing things that are plainly set down in the Scriptures, and for not believing divers principles, for which themselves are forced to recur to tradition, and can by no means prove from Scripture. To show which, I shall not here insist, having allotted a chapter for it in the book itself, because to put it here, would swell beyond the bounds of a preface.

Oh! how like do they show themselves (I mention it with regret) to the Scribes and Pharisees of old, who of all men most cried up and exalted Moses and the prophets, boasting greatly of being Abraham's children! And yet those were they that were the greatest opposers and vilifiers of Christ, to whom Moses and all the prophets gave witness: yea, their chief accusations and exceptions against Christ were, as being a breaker of the law, and a blasphemer.

Can there any comparison run more parallel, seeing there is now found a people, who are greatly persecuted, and bitterly reviled, and accused as heretics by a generation, that cry up and exalt the Scriptures? and yet this people's principles are found in Scripture, word by word, though the most grievous, and indeed the greatest calumny cast upon them is, that they vilify and deny the Scriptures, and set up their own imaginations instead of them.

To disprove which, this Catechism and Confession of Faith is compiled, and presented to thy serious and impartial view. If thou lovest the Scripture indeed, and desirest to hold the plain doctrines there delivered, and not these strange and far fetched consequences, which men have invented, thou shalt easily observe the whole principles of the people called *Quakers*, plainly couched in Scripture words, without addition or commentary: especially in those things their adversaries oppose them in, where the Scripture plainly decideth the controversy for them, without niceties and school distinctions; which have been the wisdom, by which the world hath not known God; and the words which have been multiplied without knowledge, by which counsel hath been darkened.

In the answers to the questions there is not one word, that I know of, placed, but the express words of Scripture: and if in some of the questions there be somewhat subsumed, of what in my judgment is the plain and naked import of the words, it is not to impose my sense upon the reader; but to make way for the next question, for the dependence of the matter's sake. I shall leave it to the reason of any understanding and judicious man, who is not biassed by self-interest, (that great enemy to true equity,) and who in the least measure is willing to give way to the light of Christ in his conscience, if the Scriptures do not pertinently and aptly answer to the questions.

As I have upon serious grounds separated from most of the confessions and catechisms heretofore pub-

lished; so, not without cause, I have now taken another method. They usually place their confession of faith before the catechism: I judge, it ought to be otherwise: in regard that which is easiest, and is composed for children, or such as are weak, ought in my judgment to be placed first; it being most regular, to begin with things that are easy and familiar, and lead on to things that are more hard and intricate. Besides, that things be more largely opened in the catechism, and divers objections answered, which are proposed in the questions; the reader having passed through that first, will more perfectly understand the confession, which consisteth mainly in positive assertions.

Not long after I had received and believed the testimony I now bear, I had in my view both the possibility and facility of such a work; and now, after a more large and perfect acquaintance with the Holy Scripture, I found access to allow some time to set about it; and have also been helped to accomplish the same.

I doubt not, but it might be enlarged by divers citations, which are here omitted; as not being at present brought to my remembrance: yet I find cause to be contented, in that God hath so far assisted me in this work by his Spirit, that good remembrancer; the manifestation of which, as it is minded, will help such, as seriously and conscientiously read this, to find out, and cleave to the *truth*, and also establish and confirm those, who have already believed. Which of all things is most earnestly desired, and daily prayed for, by

Robert Barclay,

A servant of the church of Christ.

From Ury, the place of my being, in my native country of Scotland, the 11th of the 6th month, 1763.

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A CATECHISM, &c.

CHAP. I.

Of God, and the True and Saving Knowledge of him.

Quest. Seeing it is a thing unquestioned by all sorts of Christians, that the height of happiness consisteth in coming to know and enjoy eternal life; what is it in the sense and judgment of Christ?

John xvii. 3. Answ. This is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent.

Q. How doth God reveal this knowledge?

2 Cor. iv. 6. A. For God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.

Q. How many Gods are there?

Eph. iv. 9. 1 Cor. viii. 4. 6. A. One God. We know, that an idol is nothing in the world; and that there is none other God but one. But to us there is but one God.

Q. What is God?

John iv. 24. A. God is a Spirit.

Q. Among all the blessed, glorious and divine excellences of God, which are ascribed and given to him in the Scriptures, what is that, which is most needful for us to take notice of, as being the message which the apostles recorded in special manner to declare of him now under the gospel?

A. This then is the message which we have heard of him, and declare unto you, that God is light, and in him is no darkness at all. 1673. 1 John i. 5.

Q. What are they that bear record in heaven?

A. There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one. 1 John v. 7.

Q. How cometh any man to know God the Father, according to Christ's words?

A. All things are delivered to me of my Father, and no man knows who the Son is, but the Father; and who the Father is, but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him. Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, the truth, and the life, no man cometh unto the Father but by me. Luke x. 22. Mat. xi. 27. John xiv. 6.

Q. By whom, and after what manner doth the Son reveal his knowledge?

A. But as it is written, eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him. But God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit, for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God. For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of a man, which is in him? Even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. Now, we have received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God. 1 Cor. ii. 9, 10, 11, 12.

But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, &c. John xiv. 26.

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CHAP. II.

Of the Rule and Guide of Christians, and of the Scriptures.

The Spirit the guide.

Quest. Seeing it is by the Spirit, that Christ reveals the knowledge of God in things spiritual, is it by the Spirit that we must be led under the gospel?

Rom. viii. 9. 14.

Answ. But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit; if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now, if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his. For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God.

Q. Is it an inward principle then, that is to be the guide and rule of Christians?

1 John ii. 27.

A. But the anointing, which ye have received of him, abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you, but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie; and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him.

1 Thes. iv. 9.

But as touching brotherly love, ye need not that I write unto you; for ye yourselves are taught of God to love one another.

Q. I perceive by this, that it is by an inward anointing and rule, that Christians are to be taught? Is this the very tenor of the new covenant dispensation?

The anointing the teacher.

A. For this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel, after those days, saith the Lord, I will put my laws into their mind, and write them in their hearts, and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people,

Heb. viii. 10, 11.

and they shall not teach every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, know

the Lord, for all shall know me, from the least to the greatest. 1673.

And they shall be all taught of God. John vi. 45.

Q. Did Christ then promise, that the Spirit should both abide with his disciples, and be in them?

A. And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him; but ye know him, for he dwells with you, and shall be in you. John xiv. 16, 17.

Q. For what end were the Scriptures written?

A. For whatsoever things were written afore time, were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope. Rom. xv. 4.

Q. For what are they profitable?

A. Thou hast known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus. All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished unto all good works. 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16, 17.

Q. Wherein consisteth the excellency of the Scriptures?

A. Knowing this first, that no prophecy of the Scriptures is of any private interpretation: for the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake, as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. 2 Pet. i. 20, 21.

Q. The Scriptures are then to be regarded, because they came from the Spirit; and they also testify, that not they but the Spirit is to lead into all truth? In what respect doth Christ command to search them?

1673. A. Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they
John v. 39. which testify of me.

Q. I perceive there was a generation of old, that greatly exalted the Scriptures, and yet would not believe, nor come to be guided by that the Scriptures directed to: how doth Christ bespeak such?

John v. 45, 46, 47. A. Do not think, that I will accuse you to the Father; there is one that accuseth you, even Moses, in whom ye trust: for had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me: but if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?

Q. What ought then such to be accounted of, notwithstanding of their pretences of being ruled by the Scriptures?

2 Pet. iii. 16. A. In which are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable, wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, unto their own destruction.

CHAP. III.

Of Jesus Christ being manifest in the flesh; the Use and End of it.

Quest. What are the Scriptures, which do most observably prophesy of Christ's appearance?

Deut. xviii. 15. Answ. The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me, unto him ye shall hearken.

Isa. vii. 14. Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign: behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel.

Q. Was not Jesus Christ in being, before he appeared in the flesh? What clear Scriptures prove this, against such as erroneously assert the contrary? 1673.

A. But thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me, that is to be ruler in Israel, whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting. Mic. v. 2.

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God; the same was in the beginning with God: all things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made. John i. 1, 2, 3.

Jesus said unto them, verily, verily, I say unto you, before Abraham was, I am. John viii. 58.

And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was. John xvii. 5.

And to make all men see, what is the fellowship of the mystery, which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jesus Christ. Eph. iii. 9.

For by him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him, and for him. Col. i. 16.

God hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds. Heb. i. 2.

Q. These are very clear, that even the world was created by Christ; but what Scriptures prove the divinity of Christ, against such as falsely deny the same?

A. And the Word was God. John i. 1.

Whose are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen. Rom. ix. 5.

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Who being in the form of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God.

Phil. ii. 6.

1 John v. 20.

And we know, that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding, that we may know him that is true, and we are in him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ; this is the true God, and eternal life.

Q. What are the glorious names the Scripture gives unto Jesus Christ, the eternal Son of God?

Isa. ix. 5.

A. And his name shall be called 'Wonderful Counsellor, The Mighty God, The Everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace.'

Col. i. 15.

Who is the image of the invisible God, the first born of every creature.

Heb. i. 3. χαρακτηρ της υποστασεως αυτου.

Who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person (or more properly, according to the Greek, of his substance).

Rev. xix. 13.

And he was clothed with a vesture dipt in blood, and his name is called the Word of God.

Q. After what manner was the birth of Christ?

A. Now, the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise: when as his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, (before they came together,) she was found with child of the Holy Ghost.

Mat. i. 18.

The birth of Christ.

And the angel said unto her, fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favour with God; and behold thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name Jesus: he shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest, and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David.

Luke i. 30, 31, 32. 34, 35.

Then said Mary unto the angel, how shall this be, seeing I know not a man? And the angel answered and said unto her, the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also

that holy thing that shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God. 1673.

Q. Was Jesus Christ, who was born of the Virgin Mary, and supposed to be the son of Joseph, a true and real man?

A. Forasmuch as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself took part of the same, that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil. Heb. ii. 14.

For verily, he took not on him the nature of angels, but he took on him the seed of Abraham, wherefore in all things, it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest, &c. Heb. ii. 16, 17.

For we have not an high priest, which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; but was in all points tempted, as we are, yet without sin. Heb. iv. 15.

And the gift of grace, which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many. Heb. v. 15.

But now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first fruits of them that slept; for since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. 1 Cor. xv. 20, 21.

Q. After what manner doth the Scripture assert the conjunction and unity of the eternal Son of God in and with the man Christ Jesus?

A. And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, (and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father,) full of grace and truth. John i. 14.

For he, whom God hath sent, speaketh the words of God; for God giveth not the spirit by measure unto him. John iii. 34.

Now God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power, who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil, for God was with him. Acts x. 38.

1673. For it pleased the Father, that in him should all fulness dwell.

Col. i. 19. Col. ii. 9. For in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.

Col. ii. 3. In him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.

Q. For what end did Christ appear in the world?

Rom. viii. 3. A. For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned sin in the flesh.

1 John iii. 8, 9. For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil. And ye know, that he was manifested to take away our sins.

Q. Was Jesus Christ really crucified and raised again?

1 Cor. xv. 3, 4. A. For I delivered unto you first of all, that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins, according to the Scriptures; and that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day, according to the Scriptures.

Q. What end do the Scriptures ascribe unto the coming, death and sufferings of Christ?

Luke ii. 30, 31, 32. A. For mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people, a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel.

Rom. iii. 25. Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins, that are past, through the forbearance of God.

Ephes. v. 2. And walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given himself for us an offering, and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour.

Col. i. 20, 21, 22. And (having made peace through the blood of his cross) by him to reconcile all things

unto himself, by him I say, whether they be things in earth, or things in heaven. And you that were sometimes alienated, and enemies in your minds by wicked works; yet now hath he reconciled in the body of his flesh through death, to present ye holy, unblameable, and unreproveable in his sight. 1673.

Neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood, he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us. How much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the Eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your consciences from dead works, to serve the living God? Heb. ix. 12, 14.

For Christalso hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust (that he might bring us to God) being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit. 1 Pet. iii. 18.

Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us. 1 John iii. 16.

And for this cause he is the Mediator of the New Testament, that by means of death for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the first testament, they which are called, might receive the promise of the eternal inheritance. Heb. ix. 15.

Q. Is Christ then the Mediator? 1 Tim. ii. 5.

A. For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time.

Q. Was not Christ the Mediator, until he appeared, and was crucified in the flesh? Rev. v. 12. and xiii. 8.

A. He is the Lamb, that was slain from the foundation of the world.

Q. Is it then needful to believe, that the saints of old did partake of Christ, as then present with, and nourishing them?

1673.

A. Moreover, brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant, how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea; and were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea; and did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink: for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ.

1 Cor. x. 1, 2, 3, 4.

Q. But whereas most of the Scriptures before mentioned do hold forth, that the death and sufferings of Christ were appointed for the destroying, removing and remitting of sin; did he so do it, while he was outwardly upon earth, as not to leave any thing for himself to do in us, nor for us to do in and by his strength?

A. For even hereunto were ye called, because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that ye should follow his steps.

1 Pet. ii. 21.

Whereof I, *Paul*, am made a minister, who now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind, of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for his body's sake, which is the church.

Col. i. 23, 24.

Always bearing about in the body, of the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our body. For we which live, are always delivered unto death for Jesus' sake, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our mortal flesh.

2 Cor. iv. 10, 11.

And that he died for all, that they which live, should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him that died for them, and also rose again.

2 Cor. v. 15.

That I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable to his death.

Phil. iii. 10.

1673.

CHAP. IV.

Of the New Birth, the Inward Appearance of Christ in Spirit, and the Unity of the Saints with him.

Quest. Doth Christ promise then to come again to his disciples?

Answ. I will not leave you comfortless; I come unto you. John xiv. 18.

Q. Was this only a special promise to these disciples? Or is it not the common privilege of the saints?

A. For thus saith the High and Lofty One, that inhabits eternity, whose name is holy, I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, &c. Isa. lvii. 15.

For ye are the temple of the living God, as God hath said, I will dwell in them and walk in them. 2 Cor. vi. 16.

Behold, I stand at the door, and knock, if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and sup with him, and he with me. Rev. iii. 20.

Q. Doth the apostle Paul speak of the Son of God being revealed in him?

A. But when it pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace, to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen. Gal. i. 15, 16.

Q. Is it needful then, to know Christ within?

A. Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith, prove your ownselves: know ye not your ownselves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates? 2 Cor. xiii. 5.

Q. Was the apostle earnest, that this inward birth of Christ should be brought forth in any?

1673.

A. My little children, of whom I travail in birth again, until Christ be formed in you.

Gal. iv. 19.

Q. What saith the same apostle of the necessity of this inward knowledge of Christ, and of the new creature beyond the outward?

2 Cor. v. 16, 17.

A. Wherefore, henceforth know we no man after the flesh; yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more. Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old things are passed away, behold all things are become new.

But ye have not so learned Christ; if so be that ye have heard him, and have been taught by him, as the truth is in Jesus, that ye put off concerning the former conversation, the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts, and be renewed in the spirit of your mind; and that ye put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness.

Ephes. iv. 21, 22, 23, 24.

Q. Is this Christ within, the mystery of God, and hope of glory, which the apostle preached?

A. To whom God would make known, what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles, which is Christ in you, the hope of glory, whom we preach.

Col. i. 27, 28.

Q. Doth the apostle any where press the putting on of this new birth?

A. Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof.

Rom. xiii. 14.

Q. Doth he write to any of the saints, as having put off the old, and put on the new man?

A. For as many of you, as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ.

Gal. iii. 27.

Seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds, and have put on the new man, which

Col. iii. 9, 10.

is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him. 1673.

Q. What speaketh Christ himself of the necessity of this new birth?

Jesus answered and said unto him, verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God. John iii. 3.

Q. Of what seed cometh this birth?

A. Being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever. 1 Pet. i. 23.

Q. What doth the apostle Paul witness of himself concerning this new life?

A. I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me. Gal. ii. 20.

Q. What is the preaching of the cross of Christ?

A. For the preaching of the cross is to them that perish, foolishness; but unto us that are saved, it is the power of God. 1 Cor. i. 18.

Q. What effect had this cross in the apostle? and how much preferreth he the new creature to all outward and visible ordinances and observances?

A. But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world; for in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature. Gal. vi. 14, 15.

Q. What speaketh Christ of the unity of the saints with him?

A. At that day ye shall know, that I am in my Father, and ye in me, and I in you. John xiv. 20.

Abide in me, and I in you; as the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine, no more can ye, except ye abide in me. I am the vine, ye are the branches; he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same John xv. 4, 5.

1673. bringeth forth much fruit; for without me ye can do nothing.

Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also, which shall believe in me through their word; that they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me. And the glory which thou gavest me, I have given them, that they may be one, even as we are one; I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one; and that the world may know, that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them, as thou hast loved me.

John xvii. 20, 21, 22, 23.

Q. What saith the apostle Paul to this purpose?

A. For both he that sanctifies, and they that are sanctified, are all of one; for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren.

Heb. ii. 11.

Q. What saith the apostle Peter?

A. Whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, that by these you might be partakers of the divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust.

2 Pet. i. 4.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the Light wherewith Jesus Christ hath enlightened every man: the Universality and Sufficiency of God's Grace to all the world made manifest therein.

Quest. Wherein consists the love of God towards fallen and lost man?

Answ. For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son; that whosoever believeth in him, should not perish, but have everlasting life.

John iii. 16.

1673.

In this was manifested the love of God towards us, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. 1 John iv. 9.

Q. What is intended here by the world? all and every man, or only a few?

A. But we see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels, for the suffering of death crowned with glory and honour, that he by the grace of God, should taste death for every man. Heb. ii. 9.

And if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ, the righteous; and he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world. 1 John ii. 1, 2.

Q. Methinks, the apostle John is very plain there, in mentioning the whole world, which must be not only the saints, but all others; seeing he distinguisheth the world from himself, and all the saints, to whom he then wrote; what saith Paul elsewhere in this matter?

A. Christ in you the hope of glory, whom we preach, warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom, that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus. Col. i. 27, 28.

I exhort, therefore, that first of all supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, who will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth; who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time. 1 Tim. ii. 3, 4. 6.

Q. What is the apostle Peter's testimony in this?

A. The Lord is not slack concerning his promise (as some men count slackness) but is long suffering to usward, not willing, that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance. 2 Pet. iii. 9.

1673.

Q. Are there any more Scripture passages that prove this thing?

Ezek. xxxiii. 11. *A.* Say unto them, as I live, saith the Lord, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way, and live.

Psal. xlv. 8, 9. The Lord is gracious, and full of compassion; slow to anger, and of great mercy. The Lord is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works.

2 Cor. v. 19. To wit, that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself.

Q. Seeing then, by these Scriptures it appears, that the love of God is held out to all, that all might have been or may be saved by Christ; what is to be judged of those, who assert, that God nor Christ never purposed love nor salvation to a great part of mankind; and that the coming and sufferings of Christ never was intended, nor could be useful to their justification; but will and must be effectual for their condemnation: even according to God's purpose, who, from their very infancy to their grave, withheld from them all means of salvation? What saith the Scripture to such?

John iii. 17. *A.* For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved.

John xii. 46, 47. I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believeth in me, should not abide in darkness. And if any man hear my words and believe not, I judge him not; for I came not to judge the world, but to save the world.

Q. From what Scripture then came these men to wrest an opinion so contrary to truth?

Rom. ix. 11, 12, 13. *A.* For the children being not yet born, neither have done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, it was said unto her, the elder shall serve the

younger, as it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated. 1673.

Q. I perceive, in that Scripture it was only said, before the children were born, the elder shall serve the younger; these other words (Jacob have I loved, Esau have I hated) are mentioned out of the prophet Malachi, who wrote them many hundred years after both were dead: doth not the Scripture mention any other cause of God's hating Esau, than merely his decree? What saith the same apostle elsewhere?

A. Lest there be any fornication, or profane person as Esau, who for one morsel of meat sold his birthright; for ye know, how that afterward, when he would have inherited the blessing, he was rejected. Heb. xii. 16, 17.

Q. But seeing, that such allege, that it is because of Adam's sin, that many, even children, are damned: doth not the Scripture aver, that the death of Christ was as large to heal, as Adam's sin could condemn?

A. For if through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man, Jesus Christ. Therefore, as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation, even so, by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life. Rom. v. 15. 18.

Q. That proves abundantly, that Christ's death is of sufficient extent to make up any hurt Adam's sin brought upon mankind? What is then the cause of condemnation?

A. He that believeth on him is not condemned; but he that believeth not, is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God. 1 John iii. 18.

1673.

And with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish, because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And for this cause God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe a lie, that they all might be damned, who believe not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.

2 Thess. ii. 10, 11, 12.

Q. Seeing it is so of a truth, according to the Scriptures' testimony, that God has purposed love and mercy to all, in the appearance of his Son Jesus Christ; is the gospel or glad tidings of this salvation brought nigh unto all, by which they are put into a capacity of receiving the grace, and being saved by it?

A. If ye continue in the faith grounded and settled, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel, which ye have heard, and which was preached to every creature, which is under heaven, whereof I, Paul, am made a minister.

Col. i. 23.

Q. What is the gospel?

A. I am not ashamed of the gospel; for it is the power of God unto salvation, unto every one that believeth.

Rom. i. 16.

Q. Is this gospel hid?

A. If our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost, in whom the God of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ should shine unto them.

2 Cor. iv. 3, 4.

Q. Is this light then come into the world? and are not men condemned, because they love it not; and not because it is hid from them?

A. And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men love darkness rather than light.

John iii. 19.

Q. Why do they so?

A. Because their deeds are evil.

1673.

Q. Is every man enlightened by this light?

A. He was not that light, but was sent to bear witness of that light, that was the true light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. John i. 8. 9.

Q. Doth this light discover all things?

A. All things that are reproved, are made manifest by the light; for whatsoever doth make manifest, is light. Eph. v. 13.

Q. Do evil men preach up this light, or mind it?

A. Every one that doth evil, hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved. John iii. 20.

They are of those that rebel against the light. Job xxiv. 13.

Q. Do good men love it, and follow it?

A. He that doth truth, comes to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God. John iii. 21.

Q. What benefit doth redound to such as love the light and walk in it?

A. If we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, cleanses us from all sin. 1 John i. 7.

Q. Doth Christ command to take heed to the light?

A. While ye have the light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of the light. John xii. 36.

Q. Were the apostles commanded to turn people to the light?

A. Delivering thee from the people, and from the Gentiles, unto whom now I send thee to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified through faith that is in me. Acts xxvi. 17, 18.

1673. *Q.* Doth this light abide with every man all his life time, in order to save, or only during the day of his visitation?

John xii. 25. *A.* Yet a little while is the light with you; walk while ye have the light, lest darkness come upon you.

Heb. iv. 7. Again, he limiteth a certain day, saying in David, to-day, after so long time, as it is said, to-day, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts.

Q. How can it be proved, that there is a day, wherein people may know things concerning their peace, which afterwards may be hid from them?

Luke xix. 41, 42. *A.* And when he was come near, he beheld the city, and wept over it, saying, if thou hadst known, even thou at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace; but now they are hid from thine eyes.

Q. Is there any further Scripture proof of the Lord's willingness to gather a people, who would not, and therefore were condemned?

Mat. xxiii. 37. Luke xiii. 34. *A.* O Jerusalem! Jerusalem! thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how oft would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not.

Mat. xviii. 32, 33, 34. Then his Lord, after that he had called him, said unto him, O thou wicked servant! I forgave thee all that debt, because thou desiredst me; shouldst not thou also have had compassion on thy fellow servant, even as I had pity on thee? and his lord was wroth, and delivered him to the tormentors, till he should pay all that was due unto him.

Acts xiii. 46. Then Paul and Barnabas waxed bold, and said, it was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you; but see-

ing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles. 1673.

Because I have called, and ye refused, I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded: but ye have set at nought all my counsel, and would none of my reproof; I also will laugh at your calamity, I will mock when your fear cometh. Prov. i. 24, 25, 26.

And at what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom to build and to plant it; if it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then will I repent of the good, wherewith I said I would benefit them. Jer. xviii. 9, 10.

Q. Doth God's Spirit strive then for a season, and afterwards forbear?

A. And the Lord said, my Spirit shall not always strive with man. Gen. iii. 9.

Q. May it then be resisted?

A. Ye stiff necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost, as your fathers did, so do ye. Acts vii. 51.

For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of man, who hold the truth in unrighteousness. Rom. i. 18.

Q. Hath God manifested to man, that which may be known of himself?

A. That which may be known of God, is manifest in them; for God hath showed it unto them. Rom. i. 19.

Q. Is then this light or seed sown in the hearts of evil men?

A. And he spake many things to them in parables: behold, a sower went forth to sow, and when he sowed, some seeds fell by the way side, &c. some fell among stony places, &c. and some fell among thorns, &c. Mat. xiii. 3, 4, 5. 7.

Q. Are those places, where the seed is said to have fallen, understood of the heart of man?

1673.

A. Hear ye therefore the parable of the sower, when any one heareth the word of the kingdom, and understandeth it not, then cometh the wicked one, and catcheth away that which was sown in his heart: this is he which received the seed by the way-side, &c.

Mat. xiii. 18, 19.

Q. Is this seed small in its first appearance?

A. The kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustard seed, which a man took and sowed in his field, which indeed is the least of all seeds.

Mat. xiii. 31, 32.

Q. Forasmuch as many understand not this under the notion and appellation of light or seed, it being quite another dialect than the common; though I must needs confess, it is the very language of the Scriptures; is there a saving manifestation of the Spirit given unto all?

A. The manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal.

1 Cor. xii. 7.

Q. Sure, if it be to profit withal, it must be in order to save; for were it not useful, nor yet sufficient to save, what profit could it be of; but in regard some speak of a grace that is common, and of a grace that is saving, is there such a grace common unto all, as brings salvation?

A. The grace of God, that brings salvation, hath appeared to all men.

Tit. ii. 11.

Q. That which brings salvation, must needs be saving; what doth that grace teach us?

A. Teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world.

Tit. ii. 12.

Q. Certainly that which teaches both righteousness and godliness, must be sufficient; for therein consisteth the whole duty of man; what saith the apostle elsewhere of this instructor?

A. And now, brethren, I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, which is

Acts xx. 32.

able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all those that are sanctified. 1673.

Q. What is the Word of God?

A. The Word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thought and intents of the heart. Neither is there any creature that is not manifest in his sight, but all things are naked and open to the eyes of him, with whom we have to do. Heb. iv. 12, 13.

Q. Ought we not to take heed to this Word?

A. We have also a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts. 2 Pet. i. 19.

Q. I perceive the Scriptures are very clear, both concerning the universality and sufficiency of this light, seed, grace and word of God, but is this word nigh, or afar off? inward or outward?

A. Say not in thine heart, who shall ascend into heaven, that is to bring Christ down from above; or who shall descend into the deep, that is to bring up Christ again from the dead? But what saith it, the word is nigh, in thy mouth and in thy heart; that is the word of faith, which we preach. Rom. x. 6, 7, 8.

Q. That is clear as to the word; is there any Scripture speaks of the light's being inward?

A. God who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us. 2 Cor. iv. 6, 7.

1673. Q. But seeing it also called the seed of the kingdom, is the kingdom of God also within?

Luke xvii. 20, 21. A. The kingdom of God comes not with observation, neither shall they say, lo, here, or lo, there; for behold, the kingdom of God is within you.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning Faith, Justification and Works.

Quest. What is faith?

Answ. Faith is the substance of things hoped
Heb. xi. 1. for, and the evidence of things not seen.

Q. Is faith of absolute necessity?

A. Without faith it is impossible to please
Heb. xi. 6. him; for he that cometh to God, must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him.

Q. Are we justified by faith?

Gal. iii. 24. A. Wherefore the law was our schoolmaster, to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith.

Q. What is the nature of this faith, that availeth to justification?

Gal. v. 6. A. For in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision; but faith, which worketh by love.

Q. Are works then necessary to justification, as well as faith?

James ii. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24. A. But wilt thou know, O vain man, that faith without works is dead? Was not Abraham our father justified by works, when he had offered Isaac his son upon the altar? Seest thou how faith wrought with his works, and by works was faith made perfect? And the Scripture was fulfilled, which saith, Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for

righteousness: he was called the friend of God. Ye see then, how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only. 1673.

Q. If then both be equally required in justification, what are these works, which the apostle excludes so much?

A. By the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in his sight. Rom. iii. 20.

Q. But though we be not justified by the deeds of the law, is not this to exclude boastings, that the grace of God may be exalted?

A. For by grace are ye saved, through faith, and not yourselves, it is the gift of God; not of works, lest any man should boast: for we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works. Ephes. ii. 8, 9, 10.

Q. Are even the works, which are performed by grace, excluded? Are we never said to be saved or justified by them?

A. Not by works of righteousness, which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he shed on us abundantly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour; that being justified by his grace, we should be made heirs, according to the hope of eternal life. Tit. iii. 5, 6, 7.

Q. I perceive then, that to be justified by grace, is to be justified or saved by regeneration, which cannot exclude the works wrought by grace, and by the Spirit; how doth the apostle add in the next verse, for the maintaining this against those that cavil about the law?

A. This is a faithful saying, and these things I will that thou affirm constantly, that they, which believe in God, might be careful to maintain good works; these things are good and profitable unto men: but avoid foolish questions and genealogies, and contentions, and Tit. iii. 8, 9.

1673. strivings about the law, for they are unprofitable and vain.

Q. Doth the apostle Paul, that is so much against justification by the works of the law, speak any where else of being justified by the Spirit?

1 Cor. vi. 11. A. But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.

Q. But since the law gives not power nor ability to obey, and so falls short of justification; is there no power under the gospel, by which the righteousness of the law comes to be fulfilled inwardly?

Rom. viii. 3, 4. A. For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned sin in the flesh; that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.

Q. Seeing then there is power in the Spirit, is not works through it a condition, upon which life is proposed under the new covenant?

Rom. viii. 13. A. For if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die; but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live.

Q. Do not the apostles then frequently propose life to people upon condition of repentance and other works?

Acts iii. 19. A. Repent ye therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out.

Rom. viii. 17. And if children, then heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ, if so be that we may suffer with him, that we also may be glorified together.

2 Tim. ii. 11, 12. 21. It is a faithful saying; for if we be dead with him, we shall also live with him; if we suffer, we shall also reign with him. If a man therefore

purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honour, sanctified and meet for the master's use, and prepared unto every good work. 1673.

Remember therefore, from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent. Rev. ii. 5.

Q. It appears clearly by these passages, that the apostle excludes only our righteousness, which he elsewhere explains, as being the righteousness of the law, from being necessary to justification, and not such works as the law of the spirit of life leads to; and are not so much ours, as Christ in us; and are not such good works rewarded, though they require no absolute merit, as being the fruits of free grace, yet doth not God judge according to them, and may they not be said to have a reward? Reward of works.

A. But if a man be just, and do that which is lawful and right, and hath not eaten upon the mountains, neither hath lift up his eyes to the idols of the house of Israel, neither has defiled his neighbour's wife, neither hath come near to a menstruous woman, and hath not oppressed any; but hath restored to the debtor his pledge, hath spoiled none by violence, hath given his bread to the hungry, and hath covered the naked with a garment; he that hath not given forth upon usury, neither hath taken any increase, that hath withdrawn his hand from iniquity, hath executed true judgment between man and man, hath walked in my statutes, and hath kept my judgments to deal truth, he is just, he shall surely live, saith the Lord God. Ezek. xviii. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

For the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels, and then he shall reward every man according to his works. Mat. xvi. 27.

Then Peter opened his mouth and said, of Acts x. 34, 35.

1673. a truth I perceive, that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.

Rom. ii. 6, 7. 10. The righteous judgment of God, who will render to every man according to his deeds; to them, who by patient continuance in well doing seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, eternal life; but glory, honour and peace to every man that worketh good, to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile.

2 Cor. v. 10. For we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.

2 Thess. i. 5. Which is a manifest token of the righteous judgment of God, that ye may be accounted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which ye also suffer.

James i. 25. But whoso looketh into the perfect law of liberty, and continueth therein, being not a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the work, this man shall be blessed in his deed.

Heb. x. 35. Cast not away therefore your confidence, which hath great recompense of reward.

1 Pet. i. 17. And if ye call on the Father, who, without respect of persons, judgeth according to every man's work, pass the time of your sojourning here in fear.

Rev. xxii. 12, 14. And behold I come quickly, and behold my reward is with me, to give every man according as his works shall be. Blessed are they, that do his commandments, that they may have a right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city.

Christ saves from sin. Q. It should seem, that the purpose of God, in sending his Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, was not simply to save man by an imputative righteousness altogether without them; but also

by the washing of regeneration, or an inward righteousness; what saith the Scripture further of this? 1673.

A. And thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins. Mat. i. 21.

Looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works. Tit. ii. 13, 14.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning Perfection, or Freedom from Sin.

Quest. I perceive then by all these Scriptures afore-mentioned, that Christ, as well as he hath purchased pardon for our sins, hath also obtained power, by which we may even here be cleansed from the filth of them; may we expect then in this life to be freed from the dominion of sin?

A. For sin shall not have dominion over you. Rom. vi. 14.

Q. For what reason?

A. For ye are not under the law, but under grace. Rom. vi. 14.

Q. How cometh the apostle then to cry out and complain of sin, saying, 'Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?' Doth he speak that as a condition always permanent to him and other saints, or only that which he had passed through? What saith he afterwards?

A. There is, therefore, now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit; for the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, hath Rom. viii. 1, 2, 3. 5. 36, 37, 38, 39.

1673. made me free from the law of sin and death. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or sword? (as it is written, for thy sake we are killed all the day long, we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter.) Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors, through him that loved us. For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

Q. What saith that apostle then unto such, who, taking occasion from his words, should plead for continuance in sin for term of life, and think to be saved by the imputative righteousness of Christ, as being under grace?

A. What shall we say then? Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound? God forbid.

Rom. vi. 1, 2. What then? shall we sin, because we are not under the law, but under grace? God forbid.

Q. Is not the apostle then so far from supposing that condition, of being always under

Freedom from sin. sin, to be his own constant condition, or that of all the saints, that he even supposes many of the then church of Rome, to whom he wrote, to be free of it? how bespeaketh he them as in relation to this matter?

A. How shall we that are dead to sin, live any longer therein? know ye not, that so many

Rom. vi. 2. 7. 11, 12, 13. 16. 23. of us, as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death? therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life: for if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death,

we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection; knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin; for he that is dead, is free from sin. Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord. Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof: neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin; but yield yourselves unto God, as those that are alive from the dead, and your members as instruments of righteousness unto God. Know ye not, that to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey, whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness? But God be thanked, that ye were the servants of sin; but ye have obeyed from the heart that form of doctrine, which was delivered unto you. Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness: I speak after the manner of men, because of the infirmity of your flesh: for as ye have yielded your members servants to uncleanness, and to iniquity; even so now yield your members servants to righteousness, unto holiness. For when ye were the servants of sin, ye were free from righteousness; what fruit had ye then in those things, whereof ye are now ashamed? for the end of those things is death. But now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life; for the wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord. 1673.

Q. It would appear, then, that God requires of us to be perfect?

1673. A. Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father, which is in heaven, is perfect.

Mat. v. 48. Q. Is it then possible to keep the commandments?

Mat. xi. 30. A. My yoke is easy, and my burthen is light. For this is the law of God, that we keep his

1 John v. 3. commandments, and his commandments are not grievous.

Q. Is it necessary then for salvation to keep the commandments?

Rev. xxii. 14. A. Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city.

Q. Do you understand by this perfection, that any have so kept the commandments, as never to have sinned?

1 John i. 10. A. If we say, that we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us.

Q. Do you understand, that those who are perfect, may say they have no sin; or only that having sinned, and so having sin, in respect they once sinned, as the apostle in the passage cited mentions? May they notwithstanding thereof come to know forgiveness for the guilt, but also cleansing from the filth?

1 John i. 8. A. If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us; if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.

Q. This Scripture seems to be very plain, being compared with the other before mentioned; but because some are apt to mistake, and wrest the words of that apostle, what saith he elsewhere? Did he judge, any could know God, or be true Christians, who kept not the commandments?

A. My little children, these things write I unto you, that ye sin not; and if any man sin,

1673.

we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and hereby do we know, that we know him, if we keep his commandments. He that saith, I know him, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him; but whoso keepeth his word, in him verily is the love of God perfected. Hereby know we, that we are in him. He that saith, he abideth in him, ought himself also to walk, even as he walked. Beloved, now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear, what we shall be; but we know, that when he shall appear, we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is; and every man, that hath this hope in him, purifieth himself, even as he is pure. Whosoever committeth sin, transgresseth also the law; for sin is the transgression of the law. And ye know, that he was manifested to take away our sins, and in him is no sin; whosoever abideth in him, sinneth not; whosoever sinneth, hath not seen him, neither known him. Little children, let no man deceive you; he that doth righteousness, is righteous, even as he is righteous. He that committeth sin, is of the devil, for the devil sinneth from the beginning; for this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil. Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God. In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil; whosoever doth not righteousness, is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother.

1 John ii. 1. 3, 4, 5, 6. and iii. 2. 10.

Q. It is very plain by these passages, that the apostles were far of another mind, than those that plead for sin during term of life; and much against the deceit of those, who will esteem themselves good Christians, while they live in their sins?

1673.

A. Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doth the will of my Father which is in heaven. Therefore whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock. If ye know these things, happy are ye, if ye do them.

Mat. vii. 21. 24.

John xiii. 17.

Q. What saith the apostle Paul further concerning the needfulness of this thing?

A. Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing; but the keeping of the commandments of God.

1 Cor. vii. 19.

Q. Was not this according to the apostle Paul's judgment, the very intention of Christ, to have his church and children to be pure and without spot?

A. According as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before him in love. Even as Christ also loved the church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it, that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish.

Ephes. i. 4.

Ephes. v. 25, 26, 27.

Q. Doth not Paul press the same thing further, besides the other passages above mentioned?

A. Having therefore these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and Spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God. Finally, brethren, farewell, be perfect. Christ in you the hope of glory, whom we preach, warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom, that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus. Labouring fervently for you in prayers, that ye may stand perfect and complete in all the will of God. To the end he may establish your

2 Cor. vii. 1.

2 Cor. xiii. 11.

Col. i. 28.

Gal. ii. 12

1 Thess. iii. 13.

hearts unblameable in holiness before God. 1673.
And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly, 1 Thess. v.
and I pray God, your whole spirit, and soul, and 23.
body be presented blameless unto the coming
of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Q. Is not this then the very end, for which God appointed teachers in his church?

A. And he gave some apostles, and some Ephes. iv.
prophets, and some evangelists, and some pas- 11, 12, 13.
tors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ, till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.

Q. Seeing this is so much pressed by the holy men, doth not the Scripture, which cannot lie, give none of the saints this testimony, as being free from sin at sometimes, and so not always and daily sinning, as is supposed?

A. Noah was a just man, and perfect in his Gen. vi.
generations, and Noah walked with God. And 9.
the Lord said unto Satan, 'hast thou considered my servant Job, that there is none like him Job i. 8.
in the earth, a perfect and an upright man, one that feareth God, and escheweth evil.' There was in the days of Herod king of Judea, a certain priest named Zacharias, of the course of Abia; and his wife was of the daughters of Luke i. 1, 2.
Aaron, and her name was Elizabeth; and they were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless.

Q. That proves sufficiently as to particular persons; but what doth the Scripture intimate of this nature, even of considerable numbers?

A. But God, who is rich in mercy, for his Ephes. ii.
great love, wherewith he hath loved us, even 4, 5, 6.
when we were dead in sin, hath quickened us

1673. together with Christ, and hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus. But ye are come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven; to God, the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect. And I looked, and, lo, a Lamb stood on Mount Zion, and with him an hundred forty and four thousand, having his Father's name written in their foreheads: these are they, which were not defiled with women, for they are virgins: these are they, which follow the Lamb wheresoever he goeth: these are redeemed from among men, being their first fruits unto God, and to the Lamb. And in their mouth was found no guile, for they are without fault before the throne of God.

Heb. xii. 22, 23.

Rev. xiv. 1. 4.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning Perseverance and Falling from Grace.

Quest. Is it enough for a believer, to be sure, that he hath once received true grace? or is there any further certainty requisite?

2 Pet. i. 10. Answ. Wherefore the rather, brethren, give diligence to make your calling and election sure; for if ye do these things, ye shall never fall.

Q. May one that hath received true grace, have ground to fear, or suppose he can fall?

1 Cor. ix. 27. A. But I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection, lest that, by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a cast-away.

Q. That greatly contradicteth the doctrine of such as say, once in grace, ever in grace; but doth the apostle Paul express this only out of an humble esteem of himself? or doth he judge or suppose the like of other saints? 1763.

A. Take heed, brethren, lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief, in departing from the living God; but exhort one another daily, while it is called to-day, lest any of you be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin. Let us labour therefore to enter into that rest, lest any man fall after the same example of unbelief. For it is impossible for those who are once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to open shame. Looking diligently, lest any man fail of the grace of God, lest any root of bitterness springing up, trouble you, and thereby many be defiled. Heb. iv. 12, 13. Heb. iv. 11. Heb. vi. 4, 5, 6. Heb. xii. 15.

Q. Doth he speak this only by supposition, or doth he assert it not only possible, but certain?

A. For the time will come, when they will not endure sound doctrine; but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears, and they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables. 2 Tim. iv. 3, 4.

Q. Doth the apostle even judge it necessary to guard such a one, as his beloved son Timothy, against this hazard?

A. This charge I commit unto thee, son Timothy, according to the prophecies which went before on thee, that thou by them mightest 1 Tim. i. 18, 19.

1673.

war the good warfare, holding faith in a good conscience, which some having put away, concerning faith have made shipwreck. For the love of money is the root of all evil, which, while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows. And their word will eat, as doth a canker, of whom is Hymeneus and Philetus, who concerning the truth have erred; saying, that the resurrection is past already, and overthrow the faith of some.

2 Tim. iv. 10.

2 Tim. ii. 17, 18.

Q. Doth the apostle any where express his fears of this, as a thing that may happen to any number of people, who once truly received the faith of Christ?

A. Well, because of unbelief they were broken off; and thou standeth by faith, be not high-minded, but fear. Now, the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some should depart from the faith, &c. For this cause, when I could no longer forbear, I sent to know your faith, lest by some means the tempter have tempted you, and our labour be in vain.

Rom. xi. 20.

1 Tim. iv. 1.

1 Thess. iii. 5.

Q. What is the apostle Peter's mind? does he judge, that such as have known the right way, may forsake it?

A. Cursed children, which have forsaken the righteous way, and are gone astray, following the way of Balaam the son of Bezor, who loved the wages of unrighteousness; but was rebuked for his iniquity: the dumb ass speaking with man's voice, forbad the madness of the prophet. These are wells without water, clouds that are carried with a tempest, to whom the mist of darkness is reserved for ever. For when they speak great swelling words of vanity, they allure through the lust of the flesh, through much wantonness, those that were

2 Pet. ii. 14, 15. 18. 20, 21, 22.

clean escaped from them, who live in error: 1673.
for if after they have escaped the pollutions of the world through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, they are again entangled therein and overcome, the latter end is worse with them, than the beginning: for it had been better for them, not to have known the way of righteousness, than after they have known it, to turn from the holy commandment delivered unto them. But it is happened to them according to the true proverb, the dog is turned to his vomit, and the sow that was washed, to her wallowing in the mire.

Q. Gives he any cautions to them that stand, as supposing they may also fall?

A. Ye, therefore, beloved, seeing ye know these things before, beware, lest ye also being led away with the error of the wicked, fall from your own stedfastness. 2 Pet. iii. 17.

Q. May a man be truly a branch in Christ, or a real member of his body, and afterwards be cut off?

A. If any man abide not in me, he is cast forth, as a branch, and is withered. John xv. 6.

Q. May a righteous man then depart from his righteousness?

A. But when the righteous man turneth away from his righteousness, and commits iniquity, and dieth in them, for his iniquity, that he hath done, shall he die. Ezek. xviii. 26. and xxxiii. 13.

Q. May a believer come to such a condition in this life, from which he cannot fall away?

A. Him that overcometh, will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out; and I will write upon him the name of my God, which is new Jerusalem, who cometh down out of heaven from my God; and will write upon him my new name. Rev. iii. 12.

Q. May such an one come to be assured, that he is in this condition?

1673. A. For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

Rom. viii. 38, 39.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Church and Ministry.

Quest. What is the church?

1 Tim. iii. 15. Answ. But if I tarry long, that thou mayest know, how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of truth.

Q. Who is the head of the church?

Col. i. 13. and ii. 19. A. Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son; and he is the head of the body, the church, from which all the body by joints and bands having nourishment ministered, and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God.

Q. What kind of persons make the church?

1 Cor. i. 2. Acts ii. 47. A. Them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus. And the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved.

Q. Hath not Christ appointed any officers in the church for the work of the ministry?

Eph. iv. 8. 11, 12. A. Wherefore he saith, when he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men; and he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors, and some teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edification of the body of Christ.

Q. What kind of men should such as are teachers and overseers of the church be?

A. A bishop then must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach, not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre; but patient, not a brawler, not covetous, one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity, (for if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?) not a novice, lest, being lifted up with pride, he fall into the condemnation of the devil. Moreover, he must have a good report of them which are without, lest he fall into reproach, and the snare of the devil. 1673. 1 Tim. iii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

For a bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God, not self-willed, not soon angry, not given to wine, no striker, not given to filthy lucre, but a lover of hospitality, a lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate, holding fast the faithful word, as he hath been taught, that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort, and to convince the gainsayers. Tit. i. 7, 8, 9.

Q. What is incumbent upon such to do?

A. Take heed therefore to yourselves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God. Acts xx. 28.

The elders which are among you, I exhort, who am also an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed; feed the flock of God, which is among you, taking the oversight thereof not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock. 1 Pet. v. 1, 2, 3.

Q. Though they be not to lord it over the flock, yet is there not a respect due to them in their place?

A. Let the elders that rule well, be counted

1673. worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in the word and doctrine.

1 Tim. v. 17. Q. Albeit then among true Christians every one that believeth, is to have the witness in himself, being persuaded in himself by the Spirit; yet is there not also a real subjection to be to one another in the Lord?

1 Cor. xiv. 32. A. The spirit of the prophets are subject to the prophets.

Heb. xiii. 17. Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves; for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account, that they may do it with joy, and not with grief; for that is unprofitable for you.

1 Thess. v. 12, 13. And we beseech you, brethren, to know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you; and to esteem them very highly in love, for their work's sake.

1 Pet. v. 5. Likewise, ye younger, submit yourselves unto the elder; yea, all of you be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility; for God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace unto the humble.

Q. How ought true teachers to minister in the church?

A. As every man hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God. If

2 Pet. iv. 10, 11. any speak, let him speak as the oracles of God: if any man minister, let him do it, as of the ability which God giveth; that God in all things may be glorified, through Jesus Christ.

Q. I perceive then that every true minister of the church of Christ is to minister of the gift and grace of God, which he hath received: but some are of the judgment, that natural

Human learning. wisdom or parts, and human learning, are the qualifications, which are of absolute necessity for a minister; but grace they judge not to

be so absolutely necessary, but that one may be a minister without it; what saith the Scripture in this case? 1673.

A. A bishop must be sober, just, holy, temperate. Tit. i. 6. 8.

Q. Methinks, it is impossible for a man to be blameless, just, holy, sober, and temperate without the grace of God: so that if these qualifications be absolutely necessary, then surely, that without which a man cannot be so qualified, must be necessary also; but what saith the Scripture, as to the necessity of natural wisdom and human learning?

A. Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world? for after that in the wisdom of God the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God, by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe. 1 Cor. i. 20, 21.

Q. It seems then, the preachings of the true ministers are not gathered together by wisdom and learning: it hath been supposed, that a man must be greatly skilled in learning to make a good sermon; what is the apostle's judgment in the case?

A. For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel; not with wisdom of words, lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect. 1 Cor. i. 17.

And I was with you in weakness, and in fear, and in much trembling, and my speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wsidom; but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power, that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. 1 Cor. ii. 3, 4, 5.

Q. I perceive, the apostle lays far more stress upon the demonstration and power of the Spirit in a preacher, than upon human

1673. literature; ought ministers then to preach, as the Spirit teacheth them?

2 Cor. ii. 13. A. Also we speak not in the words, which man's wisdom teaches; but which the Holy Ghost teacheth.

Acts ii. 4. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak, as the Spirit gave them utterance.

Q. Is it Christ then that speaketh in and through his ministers?

Matt. x. 20. A. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father, which speaketh in you.

Mark xiii. 11. For it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost.

Luke xii. 12. For the Holy Ghost shall teach you in the same hour what ye ought to say.

2 Cor. xiii. 3. Since ye seek a proof of Christ speaking in me, which to you-ward is not weak, but is mighty in you.

Q. What is the apostle's mind of that human learning, which some cry up so much, and think so needful in a minister?

Col. ii. 8. A. Beware, lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ.

1 Tim. vi. 20. O, Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babbling, and oppositions of science, falsely so called.

Q. Though true ministers speak not by the natural wisdom of men; yet is their testimony altogether void of wisdom?

1 Cor. ii. 6, 7. A. Howbeit, we speak wisdom among them that are perfect; yet not the wisdom of this world, nor of the prince of this world, that came to nought; but we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom, which God ordained before the world, to our glory.

Q. What is the reason, that man by his

natural wisdom is not capable to minister in the things of God? 1673.

A. For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of a man, which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God: but the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned. 1 Cor. ii. 11. 14.

Q. These Scriptures do sufficiently hold forth, that the true call to the ministry is from God; that which maketh a minister, is the gift and grace of God; that the true and effectual preaching of a faithful minister is such, as is from the inward teaching and leading of the Spirit of God: but what say the Scriptures touching the maintenance of ministers? Maintenance.

A. Let him that is taught in the word, communicate unto him that teacheth, in all good things. Gal. vi. 6.

If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter, if we shall reap carnal things? If others be partakers of this power over you, are not we rather? nevertheless, we have not used this power, but suffer all things, lest we should hinder the gospel of Christ. Do ye not know, that they which minister about holy things, live of the things of the temple: and they which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar? Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the gospel, shall live of the gospel. For the Scripture saith, thou shalt not muzzle the ox, that treadeth out the corn, and the labourer is worthy of his reward. 1 Cor. ix. 11, 12, 13, 14. 1 Tim. v. 18.

Q. I perceive by these Scriptures, that there layeth an obligation upon the saints, to help with

1673. outward things such as truly minister unto them spiritual, but this seems to be voluntary. Ought not therefore true ministers to preach, whether they be sure of this, or not? What saith the apostle of himself in this case? And what adviseth he others?

1 Cor. ix. 15, 16, 17, 18. A. But I have used none of these things; neither have I written those things, that it should be so done unto me: for it were better for me to die, than that any man should make my glorying void. For though I preach the gospel, I have nothing to glory of; for necessity is laid upon me, yea, wo is unto me, if I preach not the gospel. For if I do this thing willingly, I have a reward; but if against my will a dispensation of the gospel is committed unto me, what is my reward then? Verily, that when I preach the gospel, I make the gospel of Christ without charge, that I abuse not my power in the gospel.

Acts xx. 33, 34, 35. I have coveted no man's silver, or gold, or apparel; yea, yourselves know, that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me. I have showed you all things, how that so labouring, ye ought to support the weak; and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, it is more blessed to give than to receive.

Q. It is observable, that the apostle every where makes special mention among the qualifications of teachers, that they be not given to filthy lucre; what ought we to think of those teachers, who will not preach without hire? yea, that will by violence take from those who receive no spirituals from them? Are they like to be the ministers of Christ? or what else saith the Scripture of such?

Isa. lvi. 11. A. Yea, they are greedy dogs, which can

never have enough; and they are shepherds, that cannot understand; they all look to their own way, every one for his gain from his quarter. 1673.

Son of man, prophesy against the shepherds of Israel, prophesy, and say unto them: thus saith the Lord God unto the shepherds, wo to the shepherds of Israel, that do feed themselves; should not the shepherds feed the flock? Ye eat the fat, and ye clothe you with the wool, ye kill them that are fed, but ye feed not the flock. As I live, saith the Lord God, surely, because my flock became a prey, and my flock became meat to every beast of the field, because there was no shepherd; neither did my shepherds search for my flock; but the shepherds fed themselves, and fed not my flock. Ezek. xxxiv. 2, 3. 8.

Thus saith the Lord concerning the prophets, that make my people err, that bite with their teeth, and cry peace; and he that puts not into their mouths, they even prepare war against him; the heads thereof judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money; yet will they lean upon the Lord, and say, is not the Lord amongst us? None evil can come upon us. Mich. iii. 5. 11.

Q. These are plain testimonies from the prophets; are there none such from the apostles?

A. Perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, supposing that gain is godliness; from such withdraw thyself; but godliness with contentment is great gain. For we brought nothing into the world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out; and having food and raiment, let us therewith be content. But they that will be rich, fall into temptations and a snare, and into many foolish hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition. For the love of money is the root of all evil, which while some coveted 1 Tim. vi. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

1673. after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows.

2 Tim. iii. 2. For men shall be lovers of their ownselves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy.

Tit. i. 10, 11. For there are many unruly and vain talkers and deceivers, especially they of the circumcision, whose mouths must be stopped, who subvert whole houses, teaching things which they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake.

2 Pet. ii. 1, 2, 3. 14, 15. But there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction; and many shall follow their pernicious ways, by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of. And through covetousness shall they, with feigned words, make merchandize of you; whose judgment now of a long time lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not; having eyes full of adultery, and that cannot cease from sin, beguiling unstable souls; an heart they have exercised with covetous practices; cursed children, which have forsaken the right way, and are gone astray, following the way of Balaam, the son of Bezor, who loved the wages of unrighteousness.

Jud. 11. 16. Wo unto them! For they have gone in the way of Cain, and run greedily after the error of Balaam for reward, and perished in the gainsaying of Cora; these are murmurers, complainers, walking after their own lusts; and their mouth speaketh great, swelling words, having men's persons in admiration, because of advantage.

Q. Ought there to be many orders in the church of God?

A. Let all things be done decently, and in order. 1673.

Q. What good order is prescribed in the church concerning preachers? is it fit, that only one or two speak, or any more, if moved thereto? 1 Cor. xiv. 40.

A. If any thing be revealed to another, that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace; for ye may all prophesy, one by one, that all may learn, and that all may be comforted. And the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets: for God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all the churches of the saints. 1 Cor. xiv. 30, 31, 32, 33.

Q. Is there any promise, that daughters as well as sons shall prophesy under the gospel?

A. And it shall come to pass afterwards, that I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy; your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions. Joel ii. 28.

Q. Is that promise fulfilled, and to be fulfilled?

A. But this is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel, and it shall come to pass in the last days (saith God) I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy; and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams. Acts ii. 16. 17.

Q. Is there any such instance of old in the Scripture?

A. And the same man had four daughters, virgins, which did prophesy. Acts xxi. 9.

Q. But may all women speak? or are any commanded to keep silence in the church?

A. Let your women keep silence in the church; for it is not permitted unto them to speak: but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law. And if they will learn any thing, let them ask their hus- 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35.

1673. bands at home; for it is a shame for women to speak in the church.

1 Tim. ii. 11, 12. Let the women learn in silence, with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, or usurp authority over the man; but to be in silence.

Q. The first of these seems only to relate to women that have husbands; what comes of them that have none? the second speaks nothing of the church, but only that she ought not to usurp authority over the man; hath this no limitation? doth not the same apostle give directions, how women that speak, should behave themselves in the church?

1 Cor. xi. 4, 5. *A.* Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonoureth his head: but every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered, dishonoureth her head; for that is even all one, as if she were shaven.

CHAP. X.

Concerning Worship.

Quest. What is the worship that is acceptable to God?

John iv. 23, 24. Answ. But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a Spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth.

Q. Seeing prayer is a part of worship, when ought we to pray?

Luke xviii. 1. *A.* And he spake a parable unto them to this end, that men ought always to pray and not to faint.

Pray without ceasing. 1673.

Q. Hath God no respect to the manner of calling upon him? 1 Thess. v. 17.

A. For there is no difference between the Jew and the Greek; for the same Lord over all is rich unto all, that call upon him. Rom. x. 12.

Q. Doth God hear the prayers of all that call upon him?

A. The Lord is nigh unto all them, that call upon him, to all that call upon him in truth. Psal. cxlv. 18.

The Lord is far from the wicked; but he hears the prayer of the righteous. Prov. xv. 29.

Now we know, that God heareth not sinners; but if any man be a worshipper of God, and doeth his will, him he heareth. John ix. 31.

And this is the confidence, that we have in him, that if we ask any thing according to his will, he heareth us. 1 John v. 14.

Q. After what manner doth the apostle then declare he will pray?

A. What is it then? I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also; I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also. 1 Cor. xiv. 15.

Q. Must we then pray always in the spirit?

A. Praying always, with all prayer and supplication in the spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance and supplication for all saints. Eph. vi. 18.

Q. Since we are commanded to pray always in it, can we do it of ourselves, without the help thereof?

A. Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities; for we know not what we should pray for, as we ought; but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us, with groanings which cannot be uttered. And he that searcheth the hearts, knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God. Rom. viii. 26, 27.

1673. Q. I perceive, that without the leadings and help of the Spirit, prayers are altogether unprofitable; may not a man truly utter these things that are spiritual, without the Spirit's assistance?

1 Cor. xii. 3. A. Wherefore I give you to understand, that no man speaking by the Spirit of God, calleth Jesus accursed; and that no man can say, that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost.

Q. This is strange; it seems the Spirit is much more necessary, than many called Christians suppose it to be; some of which can scarce give a good account, whether they have it, or want it; but if a man speak things true upon the matter, are they not true as from him, if spoken without the Spirit?

Jer. v. 2. A. And though they say, the Lord liveth, surely, they swear falsely.

Q. It is apparent from all these Scriptures, that the true worship of God is in spirit; and as it is not limited to a certain place, neither to any certain time, what shall we think of them, that plead for the observation of certain days?

Gal. iv. 9, 10, 11. A. But now, after that ye have known God, or rather, are known of God, how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage? Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years; I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain.

2 Col. ii. 16, 17. Let no man therefore judge you in meat or drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath day, which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ.

Q. Seeing it is so, may not some Christians as lawfully esteem all days alike, as others may esteem some days above another? What rule giveth the apostle in this case?

A. One man esteemeth one day above another, another esteemeth every day alike; let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind: he that regardeth a day, regardeth it unto the Lord, and he that regardeth not the day to the Lord, he doth not regard it. He that eateth, eateth to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks: and he that eateth not to the Lord, he eateth not and giveth God thanks. 1673. Rom. xiv. 5, 6.

Q. But is it not convenient and necessary, that there be a day set apart to meet and worship God in? Did not the apostles and primitive Christians use to meet upon the first day of the week, to make their collections, and to worship?

A. Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye upon the first day of the week; let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come. 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning Baptism, and Bread, and Wine.

Quest. How many baptisms are there?

Answ. One Lord, one faith, one baptism. Eph. iv. 5.

Q. What is this baptism?

A. And the like figure, whereunto even baptism doth now save us: not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ, who is gone into heaven, and is on the right hand of God; angels and authorities and powers being made subject unto him. 1 Pet. iii. 21, 22.

1673. Q. What saith John the Baptist of Christ's baptism? how distinguisheth he it from his?

Mat. iii. 11. A. I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance; but he that cometh after me, is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear, he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire.

Q. Doth not Christ so distinguish it also?

Acts i. 4, 5. A. And being assembled together with them, commanded them, that they should not depart from Jerusalem; but wait for the promise of the Father, which, saith he, ye have heard of me; for John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence.

Q. Doth not the apostle Peter observe this?

Acts xi. 15, 16. A. And as I began to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on them, as on us at the beginning; then remembered I the word of the Lord, how that he said, John indeed baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost.

John's baptism. Q. Then it seems, John's baptism must pass away, that Christ's may take place; because John must decrease, that Christ may increase?

John iii. 30. A. He must increase, but I must decrease.

Q. I perceive, then, many may be sprinkled with, and dipped, and baptized in water, and yet not truly baptized with the baptism of Christ: What are the real effects in such, as are truly baptized with the baptism of Christ?

Christ's baptism.

Rom. vi. 3, 4. A. Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death? Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life.

Gal. iii. 27. For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ.

Buried with him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with him, through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead. 1673. Col. ii. 12.

Q. I perceive there was a baptism of water, which was John's baptism, and is therefore by John himself contra-distinguished from Christ's; was there not likewise something of the like nature appointed by Christ to his disciples, of eating bread, and drinking wine in remembrance of him? Bread and wine—

A. For I have received of the Lord that which also I have delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, take, eat, this is my body, which is broken for you; this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, this cup is the new testament in my blood; this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. 1 Cor. xi. 23, 24, 25.

Q. How long was this to continue? —discontinued.

A. For, as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come. 1 Cor. xi. 26.

Q. Did Christ promise to come again to his disciples? Christ's coming—

A. I will not leave you comfortless; I will come to you. Jesus answered, and said unto him, if a man love me, he will keep my words; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him and make our abode with him. John xiv. 18. 23.

Q. Was this an inward coming? —inward.

A. At that day ye shall know, that I am in my Father, and ye in me, and I in you. John xiv. 20.

Q. But it would seem, this was even practised by the church of Corinth, after Christ was come inwardly; was it so, that there were cer-

1673.

tain appointments positively commanded, yea, and zealously and conscientiously practised by the saints of old, which were not of perpetual continuance, nor yet now needful to be practised in the church?

As certain appointments not perpetual—

A. If I then your Lord and master have washed your feet, ye ought also to wash one another's feet; for I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you.

John xiii. 14, 15.

For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden, than these necessary things, that ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication; from which if ye keep yourselves, ye shall do well: farewell.

Acts xv. 28, 29.

Is any man sick among you, let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord.

Jam. v. 14.

Q. These commands are no less positive, than the other; yea some of them are asserted, as the very sense of the Holy Ghost, as no less necessary, than abstaining from fornication; and yet the generality of the Protestants have laid them aside, as not of perpetual continuance: but what other Scriptures are there to show, that it is not necessary, that of bread and wine to continue?

—so bread and wine.

A. For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.

Rom. xiv. 17.

Let no man therefore judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath-days: wherefore if ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances: (touch not, taste not, handle not, which all are to perish with

Col. ii. 16. 20, 21, 22.

the using) after the commandments and doctrines of men. 1673.

Q. These Scriptures are very plain, and say as much for the abolishing of this, as to any necessity, as ought or can be alleged for the former: but what is the bread then, wherewith the saints are to be nourished? The spiritual bread.

A. Then Jesus said unto them, verily, verily, I say unto you, Moses gave you not that bread from heaven; but my Father giveth you the true bread from heaven, for the bread of God is he which comes down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world. Then said they unto him, Lord, evermore give us this bread: and Jesus said unto them, I am the bread of life; he that cometh to me, shall never hunger; and he that believeth on me shall never thirst. I am that bread of life: your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness, and are dead: this is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof, and not die. I am the living bread which came down from heaven; if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever: and the bread that I will give him, is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world. The Jews therefore strove amongst themselves, saying, how can this man give us his flesh to eat? Then Jesus said unto them, verily, verily, I say unto you, except you eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you: whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day; for my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father, so he that eateth me, even he shall live by me. This is that bread, which came

John vi. 32, 33, 34, 35. 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58.

1673. down from heaven; not as your fathers did eat manna, and are dead: he that eateth of this bread, shall live for ever.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning the Life of a Christian in general, what and how it ought to be in this world.

Religion. Quest. What is the true religion?

James i. 27. Answ. Pure religion and undefiled, is this, to visit the fatherless and the widow in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world.

Q. What is required of man?

Mich. vi. 8. A. He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?

Isa. lxvi. 2. But to this man will I look, even to him that is poor, and of a contrite spirit, and trembles at my word.

Q. Doth God then require people to be Quakers, to tremble at his word? Was there any such among the saints of old?

Trembling.

A. Then were assembled unto me every one, that trembled at the words of the God of Israel.

Ezra ix. 4. x. 3. Now therefore let us make a covenant with our God, to put away all the wives, and such as are born of them, according to the counsel of my Lord; and of those that tremble at the commandment of our God.

Quakers of old Q. It seems, Ezra loved well, and had a high esteem of Quakers, since he would have their counsel followed: do any other of the prophets point out Quakers or tremblers, as God's people?

A. Hear the word of the Lord, ye that tremble at his word; your brethren, that hated you, that cast you out for my name's sake, said, let the Lord be glorified; but he shall appear to your joy, and they shall be ashamed. 1673. Isa. lxvi. 5.

And it shall be to me a name of joy, a praise and an honour before all the nations of the earth, which shall hear all the good that I do unto them, and they shall fear and tremble for all the goodness, and for all the prosperity, that I procure unto it. Jer. xxxiii. 9.

Q. The prophets promise good things there to Quakers; what becometh of those, that tremble not, and are not such?

A. Hear now this, O foolish people, and without understanding, which have eyes, and see not, which have ears, and hear not; fear ye not me, saith the Lord? Will ye not tremble at my presence? &c. Jer. v. 21, 22.

Q. Are then all God's children Quakers? And are we commanded to quake or tremble in order to our salvation, both under the law, and now under the gospel? Quakers, God's children.

A. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. I make a decree, that in every dominion of my kingdom, men fear and tremble before the God of Daniel; for he is the living God, and steadfast for ever. Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling. Psal. ii. 11. Dan. vi. 26. Phil. ii. 12.

Q. What be the chief commandments? Commandments.

A. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind; this is the first and great commandment; and the second is like unto it; thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself; on these two commandments hang all the law and prophets. Mat. xxii. 37, 38, 39, 40.

Q. What ought a Christian to seek after in the first place?

1673.

A. Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you.

Mat. vi. 33.

Behaviour.

Q. How ought Christians to behave themselves in this world?

1 Cor. vii. 29, 30, 31.

A. But this I say, brethren, the time is short; it remaineth, that both they that have wives, be as though they had none; and they that weep, as though they wept not; and they that rejoice, as though they rejoiced not; and they that buy, as though they possessed not: and they that use this world, as not abusing it; for the fashion of this world passeth away.

Q. What saith the apostle Paul further, as that which is fit for Christian men and women to be found in?

1 Tim. ii. 8, 9, 10.

A. I will, therefore, that men pray every where, lifting up holy hands without wrath and doubting; in like manner, also, that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shame-facedness and sobriety; not with broidered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array; but (which becometh women professing godliness) with good works.

Apparel.

Q. I observe, the apostle is much against the vanity and superfluity of clothes among Christians; what saith Peter to this?

1 Pet. iii. 3, 4.

A. Whose adorning, let it not be that outward adorning or plaiting the hair, or wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel; but let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible; even the ornament of a meek, quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price.

Respect of persons.

Q. The apostle is very plain there; but what saith the Scriptures as to respect of persons among Christians?

James ii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

A. My brethren, have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, with

respect of persons: for if there come unto your assembly a man with a gold ring in goodly apparel; and there come in also a poor man in vile raiment; and ye have respect to him that weareth the gay clothing, and say unto him, sit thou here in a good place; and say to the poor, stand thou there, or sit here under my foot stool: are ye not then partial in yourselves, and are become judges of evil thoughts? hearken, my beloved brethren, hath not God chosen the poor of this world, rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom, which he hath promised to them that love him? but ye have despised the poor. Do not rich men oppress you, and draw you before the judgment seat? do they not blaspheme that worthy name, by the which ye are called? If ye fulfil the royal law according to the Scripture, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, ye do well; but if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin, and are convinced of the law, as transgressors. 1673.

Q. Though that be indeed sufficient to reprove the different ranks among Christians, upon the account of riches or birth: yet is there not a relative respect among Christians, as betwixt master and servants? what admonitions gives the apostle in this case? Master and servant.

A. Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ, not with eye-service, as men-pleasers; but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart; with good will doing service as to the Lord, and not to men: knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free. And, ye masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening; knowing that your Master also is in Eph. vi. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

1673. heaven, neither is there respect of persons with him.

Col. iii. 22, 23, 24, 25. Servants, obey in all things your masters, according to the flesh; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God. And whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men; knowing, that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance: for ye serve the Lord Christ. But he that doth wrong, shall receive for the wrong which he hath done; and there is no re-

Col. iv. 1. spect of persons. Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that

1 Tim. vi. 1, 2. ye also have a Master in heaven. Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit. These things teach and exhort.

Tit. ii. 9, 10. Exhort servants to be obedient unto their own masters, and to please them well in all things; not answering again, not purloining; but showing all good fidelity, that they may adorn the doctrine of God in all things.

1 Pet. ii. 18, 19, 20, 21. Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward; for this is thank-worthy, if a man for conscience towards God endure griefs, suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it, if, when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently? but if, when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God. For even hereunto were ye called, because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps

Q. What good admonitions gives the Scripture, as to the relation betwixt parents and children? 1673.

A. Children, obey your parents in the Lord, for this is right. Honour thy father and thy mother, (which is the first commandment with promise,) that it may be well with thee, and thou mayest live long on the earth. And, ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath; but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Children, obey your parents in all things, for this is well-pleasing unto the Lord. Fathers, provoke not your children to anger, lest they be discouraged. Parents and children. Ephes. vi. 1, 2, 3, 4. Col. iii. 20, 21.

Q. What between husbands and wives?

A. Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord; for the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church, and he is the Saviour of the body: therefore, as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in every thing. Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ loved the church, and gave himself for it; so ought men to love their own wives, as their own bodies: he that loveth his wife, loveth himself; for this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh. Nevertheless, let every one of you in particular, so love his wife, even as himself; and the wife see, that she reverence her husband. Husbands, love your wives, and be not bitter against them. Likewise, ye wives, be subject to your own husbands, that if any obey not the word, they also may without the word be won by the conversation of the wives, while they behold your chaste conversation coupled with fear. Likewise, ye husbands, dwell with them according to knowledge, giving honour Husband and wife. Eph. v. 22. 23, 24, 25. 28. 31. 33. Col. iii. 19. 1 Pet. iii. 1, 2. 7.

1673. unto the wife, as unto the weaker vessel, and as being heirs together of the grace of life, that your prayers be not hindered.

Christian's armour— Q. What is the armour of a true Christian, and wherewith ought he to wrestle?

Ephes. vi. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17. A. Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil; for we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places: wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand. Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness, and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked one; and take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.

——and weapons. Q. What are Christians' weapons, and for what end?

2 Cor. x. 3, 4, 5. A. For though we walk in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh, (for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God, to the pulling down of strong holds,) casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God; and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ.

No strife Q. Ought strife and envy to be among Christians?

James iii. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18. A. Who is a wise man, and endued with knowledge amongst you? Let him show out of a good conversation his works with meekness of wisdom: but if ye have bitter envying and

strife in your hearts, glory not, and lie not against the truth. This wisdom descendeth not from above; but is earthly, sensual, devilish; for where envying and strife is, there is confusion and every evil work. But the wisdom that is from above, is first pure, then peaceable, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy: and the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace. 1673.

Q. Ought wars to be among Christians? From whence proceed they? —nor wars.

A. From whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not hence, even from your lusts, that war in your members? Ye lust, and have not; ye kill, and desire to have, and cannot obtain; ye fight and war, yet ye have not, because ye ask not. James iv. 1, 2.

Q. What saith Christ even of defensive war? Not defensive.

A. But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but whosoevever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. But I say unto you, which hear, love your enemies; do good to them which hate you; bless them that curse you, and pray for them which despitefully use you: and unto him that smiteth thee on the one cheek, offer also the other; and him that taketh away thy cloak, forbid not to take thy coat also. Mat. v. 39. Luke vi. 27, 28, 29.

Q. What say the apostles?

A. Recompense to no man evil for evil. Not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing; but contrary-wise blessing: knowing, that ye are thereunto called, that ye should inherit a blessing. See, that none render evil for evil unto any man; but ever follow that which is good, both among yourselves, and to all men. Rom. xii. 17. 1 Pet. iii. 9. 1 Thess. v. 15.

Q. It was lawful of old to swear; and an oath for confirmation was to them an end of Oaths and swearing.

1673. all strife; is it not lawful for Christians also to swear?

Mat. v. 33, 34, 35, 36. A. Again, ye have heard, that it hath been said by them of old time, thou shalt not forswear thyself; but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths. But I say unto you, swear not at all, neither by heaven, for it is God's throne; nor by the earth, for it is his footstool; neither by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great king; neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black; but let your communication be yea, yea, nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these, Jam. v. 12. cometh of evil. But above all things, my brethren, swear not; neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath: but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay, lest ye fall into condemnation.

World's honour. Q. Is it fit for Christians or believers to receive carnal and worldly honour one from another?

John v. 44. A. How can ye believe which receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only?

Titles. Q. Doth God allow us to give flattering titles to men?

Job xxxii. 21, 22. A. Let me not, I pray you, accept any man's person: neither let me give flattering titles unto man; for I know not to give flattering titles, in so doing my Maker would soon take me away.

Thee and thou. Q. What should we say to such as quarrel with us for speaking proper sound words, as thou to one, you to many, which is Christ and the saints' language in the Scripture?

1 Tim. vi. 3, 4. A. If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ; and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is proud, knowing

nothing; but doting about questions, and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings. Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me in faith and love, which is in Christ Jesus. 1763. 2 Tim. i. 13.

Q. What is the great commandment given by Christ to his disciples, as that which even declareth them to be such, and is also pressed by his apostles? Love.

A. A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another: by this shall all men know, that ye are my disciples, if ye have love to one another. This is my commandment, that ye love one another, as I have loved you; these things I command you, that ye love one another. Be ye therefore followers of God, as dear children; and walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God, for a sweet smelling savour. If any man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar; for he that loveth not his brother, whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen? And this commandment have we from him, that he who loveth God, loveth his brother also. John xiii. 34, 35. and xv. 12. 17. Eph. v. 1, 2. 1 John iv. 20, 21.

Q. Is humility very needful for Christians? What like must we be, ere we can enter the kingdom? Humility.

A. And said, verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven; whosoever therefore shall humble himself, as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven. Matt. xviii. 3, 4.

Q. Ought Christians to lord over one another? What rule giveth Christ in this case?

A. But Jesus called them unto him, and said, ye know, that the princes of the Gentiles exer-

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cise dominion over them; and they that are great, exercise authority upon them; but it shall not be so among you, but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant; even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.

Matt xx. 25, 26, 27, 28.

Q. How then are Christians in this world?

A. Behold, I send you forth, as sheep in the midst of wolves; be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves. Go your ways; behold, I send you forth as lambs among wolves.

Matt. x.16.

Luke x. 3.

Afflictions.

Q. Are we then to expect afflictions and persecutions here?

A. And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake; but he that endureth to the end, shall be saved. And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake. If the world hate you, ye know that it hated me, before it hated you; if ye were of the world, the world would love his own; but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you. These things I have spoken unto you, that ye might have peace; in the world ye shall have tribulation; but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world. And all that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution.

Matt.x. 22.

Mark xiii. 13.

Luke xii. 17.

John xv. 18, 19.

John xvi. 33.

2 Tim. iii. 12.

Q. Ought we then to fear persecution?

A. Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell. And I say unto you, my friends, be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do; but I will forewarn you, whom ye shall fear; fear him, which after he hath killed, hath power to cast into hell, yea, I say unto you, fear him.

Persecution— Matt. iii. 10. 28.

Luke xii. 4, 5.

—advantageous.

Q. What advantage is it to them, that suffer

persecution cheerfully, and hazard, to them that shun it? 1673.

A. Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Matt. v. 10. But if ye suffer for righteousness' sake, happy are ye; and be not afraid of their terror, neither be troubled. 1 Pet. iii. 4. Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father, which is in heaven; but whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven: he that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me: he that findeth his life, shall lose it: and he that loseth his life for my sake, shall find it. Matt. x. 32, 33. 37, 38, 39. Also I say unto you, whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of man also confess before the angels of God; but he that denieth me before men, shall be denied before the angels of God. Luke xii. 8, 9. Then said Jesus unto his disciples, if any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me; for whosoever will save his life, shall lose it; and whosoever will lose his life for my sake, shall find it. Matt. xvi. 24, 25. If we suffer, we shall also reign with him; if we deny him, he also will deny us. 2 Tim. ii. 12. If any come to me, and hate not his father and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters; yea, and his own life, he cannot be my disciple. Luke xiv. 26. And he said to them, if any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me; for whosoever will save his life, shall lose it: but whosoever will lose his life for my sake, the same shall save it. Luke ix. 23, 24. And when he had called the people to him, with his disciples also, he said unto them, whosoever will come after me, let Mark viii. 34, 35.

1673. him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me: for whosoever will save his life, shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's, the same shall save it.

Q. There is nothing more certain, according to those Scriptures, than that Christians must suffer persecution in this world, even in their persons and estates, but shall they not also suffer in their good names, in being accounted blasphemers, heretics and deceivers?

Reviled.

Matt. x. 24, 25. A. The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord; it is enough for the disciple, that he be as his master, and the servant as his lord: if they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household? Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake. Then they suborned men, which said, we have heard him speak blasphemous words against Moses, and against God: and they stirred up the people, and the elders, and the Scribes, and came upon him, and caught him, and brought him to the council. And when they found them not, they drew Jason and certain brethren to the rulers of the city, crying, these that have turned the world up side down, are come hither also. But this I confess unto thee, that after the way, which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things, which are written in the law, and the prophets. Being defamed, we entreat: we are made as filth of the world, and are the off-scouring of all things unto this day: by honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report, as deceivers, and yet true.

Mat. v. 11.

Acts vi. 11, 12.

Acts xvii. 6.

Acts xxiv. 14.

1 Cor. iv. 13.

2 Cor. vi. 8.

Q. It is easily apparent, from what is mentioned, that Christians are to expect persecution

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and tribulation; and that they are always the sheep and never the wolves; the persecuted, and never the persecutors; the afflicted, and not the afflictors: the reproached, and not the reproachers: is it not fit then, that Christians be so far from persecuting others, that they ought to pray for the persecutors? is this Christ's command?

Pray for persecutors.

A. But I say unto you, love your enemies; bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you.

Mat. v. 44.

Q. Was this Christ's own practice?

By Christ's

A. Then said Jesus, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do, &c.

Luke xxiii. 34.

Q. Is Christ herein to be our example?

A. For even hereunto were you called, because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that ye should follow his steps, who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth; who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not, but committed himself unto him, that judgeth righteously.

1 Pet. ii. 21, 22, 23.

example,

Q. Is there an instance of any saint in Scripture, who followed his example herein?

—and Stephen's.

A. And he [Stephen] kneeled down, and cried with a loud voice, Lord, lay not this sin to their charge, &c.

Acts vii. 60.

Q. It appears by all these Scriptures, that Christianity consisteth in the exercise of fear and trembling, humility, patience, and self-denial; what ought we then to think of such, who place much of their religion in abstaining from marriage, and certain meats; worshipping of angels, and other such acts of voluntary humility?

Beware of seducing spirits.

A. Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times, some shall depart from the

1 Tim. iv. 1, 2, 3.

1673. faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared as with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created, to be received with thankfulness of them which
Col. ii. 18. believe, and know the truth. Let no man beguile you of your reward in voluntary humility, and worshipping of angels; intruding into those things, which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind.

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning Magistracy.

Quest. What is the duty of a magistrate?

2 Sam. xxiii. 3. Answ. The God of Israel said, the rock of Israel spake to me: he that ruleth over men, must be just, ruling in the fear of God.

Subjection. Q. What do the Scriptures speak of the duty of such as are under authority?

Rom. xiii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. A. Let every soul be subject to the higher powers; for there is no power, but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God; whosoever therefore resists the power, resists the ordinance of God: and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same; for he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God; a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but
1 Pet. ii. 13, 14, 15. also for conscience sake. Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake,

whether it be to the king as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well; for so is the will of God, that with well-doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men. 1673.

Q. Ought tribute to be paid unto them? Tribute.

A. For, for this cause pay you tribute also; for they are God's ministers, attending continually upon this very thing; render therefore to all their dues, tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour. Then saith he unto them, render therefore unto Cæsar, the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's. Rom. xiii. 6, 7. Matt. xxii. 21.

Q. Are we obliged to obey magistrates in such things, as we are persuaded in our minds are contrary to the commands of Christ? Obedience.

A. And they called them, and commanded them not to speak at all, nor teach in the name of Jesus; but Peter and John answered and said unto them, whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye; for we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard. And when they had brought them, they set them before the council, and the high priest asked them, saying, did not we straitly command you, that ye should not teach in this name? and behold, ye have filled Jerusalem with your doctrine, and intend to bring this man's blood upon us. Then Peter and the other apostles answered, and said, we ought to obey God rather than men. Acts iv. 18, 19, 20. Acts v. 27, 28, 29.

Q. What ought to be magistrates' behaviour in such cases, according to the counsel of wise Gamaliel? Moderation.

A. Then stood there up one in the council,

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a Pharisee, named Gamaliel, a doctor of law, had in reputation among the people, and commanded to put the apostles forth a little space, and said unto them, ye men of Israel, take heed to yourselves, what ye intend to do, as touching these men; and now I say unto you, refrain from these men, and let them alone; for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God.

Acts v. 34, 35. 38, 39.

Tares.

Q. What command giveth Christ to his people under the gospel, in relation to this matter? How doth he hold forth their duty under the parable of the tares?

Matt. xiii. 27, 28, 29.

A. So the servants of the householder came and said unto him, sir, didst thou not sow good seed in thy field? From whence then hath it tares? He said unto them, an enemy hath done this. The servants said unto him, wilt thou then that we go and gather them up? But he said, nay, lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them.

Tares, the wicked.

Q. Doth he explain these tares of the wicked, whom the godly must not take upon them to cut off, lest through mistake they hurt the good; but leave it to God to do it by his angels?

Matt. xiii. 38, 39, 40, 41.

A. The field is the world; the good seed are the children of the kingdom; but the tares are the children of the wicked one; the enemy that sowed them, is the devil; the harvest is the end of the world; and the reapers are the angels. As therefore the tares are gathered and burnt in the fire, so shall it be in the end of this world; the Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity.

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CHAP. XIV.

Concerning the Resurrection.

Quest. What saith the Scripture of the resurrection of the dead?

Answ. And have hope towards God, which they themselves also allow, that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust. Acts xxiv. 15.

Q. To what different end shall the good be raised from the bad? And how are they thereunto reserved?

A. Marvel not at this, for the hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves, shall hear his voice, and shall come forth, they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of condemnation. But the heavens and the earth, which are now, by the same Word, are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment, and perdition of ungodly men. John v. 28, 29. 2 Pet. iii. 7.

Q. What must be answered to such as ask, how the dead are raised, and with what body?

A. Thou fool, that which thou sowest, is not quickened, except it die: and that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body which shall be; but bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or some other grain: but God giveth it a body, as it hath pleased him, and to every seed his own body. All flesh is not the same flesh; but there is one kind of flesh of men, another flesh of beasts, another of fishes, and another of birds? There are also celestial bodies, and bodies terrestrial; but the glory of the celestial is one, and the glory of the terrestrial is another. There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of 1 Cor. xv. 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44.

1673. the stars; for one star differs from another star in glory; so also is the resurrection of the dead: it is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption; it is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power; it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body: there is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body.

Q. The apostle seems to be very positive that it is not that natural body, which we now have, that shall rise, but a spiritual body.

1 Cor. xv. 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55. A. Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, neither doth corruption inherit incorruption. Behold, I show you a mystery, we shall not all sleep; but we shall all be changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump, (for the trumpet shall sound,) and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed: for this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality, so when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying, that is written: death is swallowed up in victory: O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?

CHAP. XV.

A Short Introduction to the Confession of Faith.

Having thus largely and evidently performed the chief part of that which I promised in this treatise, in giving a full account of our principles in plain Scripture words; and also answering by the Scriptures the chief and main objections made against us; I come to a Con-

fession of Faith; in which I shall not be so large, for that I judge it not convenient to make an interpretation of all the Scriptures before mentioned; which, if needful, the reader may easily observe, were not very difficult to do. But whereas a confession of faith called rather for an affirmative account of one's own faith, than for the solution of objections, or any thing of debate in a discursive way, which is both more properly and pertinently performed in a catechism; therefore I have here only done so. I am necessitated sometimes to intermix some words for coherence of the matter, as sometimes (and) and sometimes (therefore) and the like; but not such, as any ingenuous person can affirm, do add to the matter, or that may anywise justly be reckoned a comment or meaning; and therefore to avoid the censure of the most curious, carping critics, these are marked with a different character. Likewise, unless I should have ridiculously offered to publish incongruous grammar, there was a true need sometimes to change the mood and person of a verb; in all which places, whosoever will look to the words, shall find, it is done upon no design to alter any whit the naked import of them, as for instance: where Christ says, I am the light of the world, were it proper for me to write thus, I am the light, &c.? Or can it be reckoned any whit contradicting of my purpose and promise to write, Christ is the light, where the first person is changed to the third? Also sometimes I express things, which are necessarily understood; as when any of the apostles say, *we*, there instead of *we*, I write apostles; and where they say *you*, speaking of the saints, there I mention *saints* instead of it; for the connexion of the sentence sometimes requires it. As in the first Article, in mentioning that 1673.

1673. of 1 John i. 5. concerning God's being light, and in such like cases, which I know no impartial reader would have quarrelled, though wanting this apology; which I judged meet to premise, knowing there is a generation, who, when they cannot find any real or substantial ground against truth and its followers, will be cavilling at such little niceties; therefore such may see this objection is obviated.

CHAP. XVI.

A CONFESSION OF FAITH, CONTAINING TWENTY-THREE ARTICLES.

ARTICLE I.

Concerning God, and the True and Saving Knowledge of him.

There is one God[a] who is a Spirit;[b] and this is the message, which the apostles heard of him, and declared unto the saints, that he is light, and in him is no darkness at all.[c] There are three, that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one.[d] The Father is in the Son, and the Son is in the Father.[e] No man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him.[f] The Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God.[g] For the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. Now the saints have received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God, that they might know the things which are freely given them of God.[h] For the Comforter, which is the Holy

[a] Eph. iv. 6. 1 Cor. viii. 4. 6.
[b] John iv. 24.
[c] 1 John i. 5.
[d] 1 John v. 7.
[e] John x. 38. and xiv. 10, 11. and v. 26.
[f] Matt. xi. 27. Luke x. 22.
[g] 1 Cor. ii. 10.
[h] 1 Cor. ii. 11, 12.

Ghost, whom the Father sends in Christ's name, he teacheth them all things, and bringeth all things to their remembrance.[i] 1673.

i John xiv. 26.

ARTICLE II.

Concerning the Guide and Rule of Christians.

Christ prayed to the Father, and he gave the saints another Comforter, that was to abide with them for ever, even the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, nor knoweth him. But the saints know him: for he dwelleth with them, and is to be in them.[k] Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his: for as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God.[l] For this is the covenant that God hath made with the house of Israel, he hath put his laws in their mind, and writ them in their hearts: and they are all taught of God.[m] And the anointing, which they have received of him, abideth in them; and they need not that any man teach them, but as the same anointing teacheth them of all things, and is truth, and is no lie.[n]

k John xiv. 16, 17.

l Rom. viii. 9. 14.

m Heb. viii. 10, 11.

n 1 John ii. 27.

ARTICLE III.

Concerning the Scriptures.

Whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope,[o] which are able to make wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus: all Scripture being given by inspiration of God,

o Rom. xv. 4.

1673. and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished unto all good works.[p] No prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation; for the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.[q]

p 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16, 17.

q 2 Pet. i. 20, 21.

ARTICLE IV.

Concerning the Divinity of Christ and his being from the Beginning.

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God; and the same was in the beginning with God: all things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made.[r] Whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting.[s] For God created all by Jesus Christ;[t] who being in the form of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God.[u] And his name is called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace;[x] who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature:[y] the brightness of the Father's glory, and the express image of his substance.[z] Who was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood, and his name is called the Word of God.[a] In him dwelleth all the fulness of the God-head bodily:[b] and in him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.[c]

r John i. 1. 2, 3.

s Mic. v. 2.

t Eph. iii 9.

u Phil. ii. 6.

x Isa. ix. 6.

y Col. i. 5.

z Heb. i. 3.

a Rev. xix. 13.

b Col. ii. 9.

c Col. ii. 3.

ARTICLE V.

Concerning his Appearance in the Flesh.

The Word was made flesh :[d] for he took not on him the nature of angels, but he took on him the seed of Abraham, being in all things made like unto his brethren.[e] Touched with a feeling of our infirmities, and in all things tempted, like as we are, yet without sin.[f] He died for our sins, according to the Scriptures; and he was buried, and he rose again the third day according to the Scriptures.[g]

[d] John i. 14.
[e] Heb. ii. 16, 17.
[f] Heb. iv. 15.
[g] 1 Cor. xv. 3, 4.

ARTICLE VI.

Concerning the End and Use of that Appearance.

God sent his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned sin in the flesh.[h] For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil,[i] being manifested to take away our sins :[k] for he gave himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet smelling savour;[l] having obtained eternal redemption for us :[m] and through the eternal Spirit offered up himself without spot unto God, to purge our consciences from dead works to serve the living God.[n] He was the Lamb that was slain from the foundation of the world;[o] of whom the fathers did all drink, of that spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ.[p] Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps.[q] For we are to bear about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus might

[h] Rom. viii. 3.
[i] 1 John iii. 8.
[k] 1 John iii. 5.
[l] Eph. v. 2.
[m] Heb. ix. 12.
[n] Heb. ix. 14.
[o] Rev. v. 8, 12.
[p] 1 Cor. x. 1, 2, 3, 4.
[q] 1 Pet. ii. 21.

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be made manifest in our body, being alway delivered unto death for Jesus' sake, that the life also of Jesus may be made manifest in our flesh.[r] That we may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable to his death.[s]

r 2 Cor. iv. 10, 11.

s Phil. 3. 10.

ARTICLE VII.

Concerning the Inward Manifestation of Christ.

God dwelleth with the contrite and humble in spirit:[t] for he said, he will dwell in them, and walk in them.[u] And Christ standeth at the door, and knocketh; if any man hear his voice, and open the door, he will come unto him, and sup with him, and he with him.[x] And therefore ought we to examine our ownselves, and prove our ownselves, knowing, how that Christ is in us, except we be reprobates.[y] For this is the riches of the glory of the mystery, which God would make known among (or rather in) the Gentiles, Christ within the hope of glory.[z]

t Isa. lvii. 15.

u 2 Cor. vi. 16.

x Rev. iii. 20.

y 2 Cor. xiii. 5.

z Col. i. 27.

ARTICLE VIII.

Concerning the New Birth.

Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.[a] Therefore ought we to put off the old man with his deeds, and put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him, and which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness:[b] for henceforth know we no

a John iii. 3.

b Ephes. xiv. 23, 24. Col. iii. 10.

man after the flesh; yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more.[c] For if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are past away; behold all things are become new.[d] For such have put on the Lord Jesus Christ,[e] and are renewed in the spirit of their minds;[f] sith as many as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ:[g] being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the Word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever.[h] And glory in nothing, save in the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto them, and they unto the world.[i] For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature.[k] 1673.

[c] 2 Cor. v. 16.
[d] 2 Cor. v. 17.
[e] Rom. xiii. 14.
[f] Ephes. iv. 23.
[g] Gal. iii. 27.
[h] 1 Pet. i. 23.
[i] Gal. vi. 14.
[k] Gal. vi. 15.

ARTICLE IX.

Concerning the Unity of the Saints with Christ.

He that sanctifieth, and they who are sanctified, are all of one:[l] for by the exceeding great and precious promises that are given them, they are made partakers of the divine nature;[m] because for this end prayed Christ, that all might be one, as the Father is in him, and he in the Father, that they also might be one in them; and the glory which he had gotten from the Father, he gave them, that they might be one, even as the Father and he is one: Christ in the saints, and the Father in Christ, that they might be made perfect in one.[n]

[l] Heb. ii. 11.
[m] 2 Pet. i. 4.
[n] John xvii. 21, 22, 23.

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ARTICLE X.

Concerning the Universal Love and Grace of God to all.

God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him, should not perish, but have everlasting life.[o] And in this was manifested the love of God towards us, because that God sent his only begotten Son, that we might live through him.[p] So that if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world;[q] for by the grace of God he hath tasted death for every man,[r] and gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time:[s] willing all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth;[t] not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance.[u] For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world; but that the world through him might be saved.[x] And Christ came a light into the world, that whosoever believeth in him should not abide in darkness:[y] therefore, as by the offence of the one judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men to justification of life.[z]

o John iii. 16.
p 1 John iv. 9.
q 1 John ii. 1, 2.
r Heb. ii. 9.
s 1 Tim. ii. 6.
t 1 Tim. ii. 4.
u 2 Pet. iii. 9.
x John iii. 17.
y John xii. 46.
z Rom. v. 18.

ARTICLE XI.

Concerning the Light, that enlighteneth every man.

The gospel was preached to every creature under heaven,[a] which gospel is the power of God unto salvation to them that believe:[b] and if it be hid, it is hid to them that are lost, in whom the God of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ should shine into them.[c] And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil.[d] And this was the true light, which lighteneth every man that cometh into the world;[e] by which all things that are reprovable, are made manifest: for whatsoever maketh manifest, is light.[f] Every one that doth evil, hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved: but he that doth truth, cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God.[g] And they that walk in the light, as Christ is in the light, have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, cleanseth them from all sin:[h] therefore ought we to believe in the light, while we have the light, that we may be the children of the light.[i] Therefore to-day, if we will hear his voice, let us not harden our hearts:[k] for Christ wept over Jerusalem, saying, if thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace: but now they are hid from thine eyes.[l] And he would often have gathered her children, as a hen gathereth her chickens; but they would not.[m] For the stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears

[a] Col. i. 23.
[b] Rom. i. 16.
[c] 2 Cor. iv. 3, 4.
[d] John iii. 19.
[e] John i. 9.
[f] Eph. v. 13.
[g] John iii. 20, 21.
[h] 1 John i. 7.
[i] John xii. 36.
[k] Heb. iv. 7.
[l] Luke xix. 42.
[m] Matt. xxiii. 37.

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do always resist the Holy Ghost:[n] and are of those that rebel against the light.[o] Therefore God's Spirit will not always strive with man;[p] for the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness:[q] because what is to be known of God, is manifest in them; for God hath showed it unto them;[r] and a manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal.[s] For the grace of God, that brings salvation, hath appeared to all men, teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world;[t] and this Word of this grace is able to build up, and to give an inheritance among all those that are sanctified.[u] For the Word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of the soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart:[x] is that more sure word of prophecy, whereunto we do well, that we take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in the heart.[y] And this is the Word of faith which the apostles preached, which is nigh in the mouth and in the heart.[z] For God, who commanded light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.[a] But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God,[b] and not of us; for the kingdom of God cometh not by observation, but is within us.

n Acts vii. 51.
o Job xxiv. 13.
p Gen. vi. 3.
q Rom. i. 18.
r Rom. i. 19.
s 1 Cor. xii. 7.
t Tit. ii. 11, 12.
u Acts xx. 32.
x Heb. iv. 12.
y 2 Pet. i. 19.
z Rom. x. 8.
a 2 Cor. iv. 6.
b 2 Cor. iv. 7.

ARTICLE XII.

Concerning Faith and Justification.

Faith is the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen;[d] without which it is impossible to please God.[e] Therefore we are justified by faith, which worketh by love:[f] for faith without works being dead, is by works made perfect.[g] By the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified:[h] nor yet by the works of righteousness, which we have done; but according to his mercy we are saved, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost:[i] for we are both washed, sanctified and justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.[k]

d Heb. xi. 1.
e Heb. xi. 6.
f Gal. v. 6.
g Jam. ii. 22. 26.
h Rom. iii. 20.
i Tit. iii. 5.
k 1 Cor. vi. 11.

ARTICLE XIII.

Concerning Good Works.

If we live after the flesh, we shall die; but if we through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, we shall live:[l] for they, which believe in God, must be careful to maintain good works:[m] for God will render to every man according to his deeds, according to his righteous judgment; to them, who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory, honour, and immortality, eternal life:[n] for such are counted worthy of the kingdom of God;[o] and cast not away their confidence, which hath great recompense of reward.[p] Blessed then are they, that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city.[q]

l Rom. viii. 13.
m Tit. iii. 8.
n Rom. ii. 6, 7.
o 2 Thes. i. 5.
p Heb. x. 35.
q Rev. xxii. 14.

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ARTICLE XIV.

Concerning Perfection.

Sin shall not have dominion over such as
r Rom. vi. 14. are not under the law, but under grace.[r] For there is no condemnation to those that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit; for the law of the Spirit of
s Rom. viii. 1, 2. life maketh free from the law of sin and death:[s] for such are become dead unto sin, and alive unto righteousness; and being made free from
t Rom. vi. 2. 13. sin, are become servants of righteousness.[t] Therefore ought we to be perfect, as our Hea-
u Mat. v. 48. venly Father is perfect:[u] for the yoke of Christ
x Matt. xi. 30. is easy, and his burthen is light;[x] and his com-
y 1 John v. 3. mandments are not grievous:[y] and whosoever
z Mat. xix. 17. will enter into life, must keep the command-
a 1 John ii. 3. ments.[z] Hereby do we know, that we know God, if we keep his commandments.[a] He that saith, I know him, and keepeth not his com-
b 1 John ii. 4. mandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him.[b] Whosoever abideth in him, sinneth not; whosoever sinneth, hath not seen him, neither
c John iii. 6. known him.[c] Let no man deceive us; he that doth righteousness, is righteous, even as he is righteous; he that committeth sin, is of the devil: whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him,
d 1 John iii. 7, 8, 9. and he cannot sin, because he is born of God.[d] For not every one that saith, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that
e Mat. vii. 21. doth the will of the Father, which is in heaven.[e] Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision
f 1 Cor. vii. 19. is nothing, but the keeping of the command-ments of God.[f]

ARTICLE XV. 1673.

Concerning Perseverance and falling from Grace.

We ought to give diligence to make our calling and election sure; which things if we do, we shall never fall:[g] for even Paul kept under his body, and brought it into subjection, lest by any means, when he preached to others, he himself became a cast-away.[h] Let us therefore take heed, lest there be in any of us an evil heart of unbelief, in departing from the living God;[i] likewise let us labour to enter into that rest, lest any man fall after the same example of unbelief:[k] for it is impossible for those, who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted of the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance:[l] for he that abideth not in Christ, is cast forth, and is withered.[m] Yet such as overcome, he will make as pillars in the temple of his God, and they shall go no more out.[n] And these are persuaded, that nothing shall be able to separate them from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus.[o]

g 2 Pet. i. 10.

h 1 Cor. ix. 27.

i Heb. iii. 12.

k Heb. iv. 11.

l Heb. vi. 4, 5, 6.

m John xv. 16.

n Rev. iii. 12.

o Rom. viii. 38.

ARTICLE XVI.

Concerning the Church and Ministry.

The church of God is the pillar and ground of truth:[p] whereof the dear Son of God is the head;[q] from which all the body by joints and bands, having nourishment ministered, and

p 1 Tim. iii. 15.

q Col. i. 18.

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knit together, increaseth with the increase of God.[r] Which church of God are they, that are sanctified in Christ Jesus;[s] who when he ascended up on high, gave gifts unto men: and he gave some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints for the work of the ministry;[t] who ought to be blameless, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach; not given to wine, no strikers, not greedy of filthy lucre but patient: not brawlers, not covetous;[u] but lovers of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate, holding fast the faith, as they have been taught, that they may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince gainsayers:[x] taking heed to themselves, and to the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made them overseers, to feed the church of God;[y] taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind: neither as being lords over God's heritage; but as being ensamples to the flock.[z] And such elders as rule well, are to be counted worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in the word and doctrine;[a] and to be esteemed very highly in love for their works' sake.[b] As every man hath received the gift, so ought the same to be ministered. If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God; if any man minister, let him do it, as of the ability which God giveth:[c] preaching the gospel, not with the wisdom of words, lest the cross of Christ be made of none effect.[d] Nor yet with enticing words of man's wisdom; but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power; that the faith may not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God.[e] Howbeit, such spake wisdom among them that are perfect; yet

[r] Col. ii. 19.
[s] 1 Cor. i. 2.
[t] Ephes. iv. 8. 11, 12.
[u] 1 Tim. iii. 2, 3.
[x] Tit. i. 8, 9.
[y] Acts xx. 28.
[z] 1 Pet. v. 2, 3.
[a] 1 Tim. v 17.
[b] 1 Thes. v. 13.
[c] 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11.
[d] 1 Cor. i. 17.
[e] 1 Cor. ii. 4, 5.

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not the wisdom of this world, nor of the princes of this world, which cometh to nought; but they speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom, which God ordained before the world to their glory.[f] Which things they also speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth; but which the Holy Ghost teacheth;[g] for it is not they that speak, but the Holy Ghost or Spirit of the Father that speaketh in them.[h] Who if they sow spiritual things, ought to reap carnal things; for so the Lord hath ordained, that they which preach the gospel, should live of the gospel; for the Scripture saith, thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox, that treadeth out the corn; and the labourer is worthy of his reward.[i] Yet a necessity is laid upon them; yea, wo is unto them if they preach not the gospel; and their reward is, that when they preach the gospel, they make the gospel of Christ without charge;[k] not coveting any man's silver or gold, or apparel; but their hands ministering to their necessities; that so labouring, they may support the weak; remembering the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, it is more blessed to give than to receive.[l] For they are not of the greedy dogs, that can never have enough;[m] Nor of the shepherds, that look to their own way, every one for his gain from his quarter;[n] that feed themselves, and not the flock;[o] that make the people err, biting with their teeth, and crying peace, and preparing war against all such, as put not in their mouths; teaching for hire, and divining for money.[p] Nor yet of those which teach things which they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake.[q] That run greedily after the error of Balaam for reward, loving the wages of unrighteousness;[r] And through covetousness with feigned words making mer-

[f] 1 Cor. ii. 6, 7.
[g] 1 Cor. ii. 13.
[h] Matt. x. 20.
[i] 1 Cor. ix. 9. 11. 14.
[k] 1 Cor. ix. 16, 17, 18.
[l] Acts xx. 33, 34, 35.
[m] Isa. lvi. 11.
[n] Ibidem.
[o] Ezek. xxxiv. 8.
[p] Mic. iii. 5. 11.
[q] Tit. i. 11.
[r] 2 Pet. ii. 15.

1673. chandise of souls;[s] men of corrupt minds, destitute of the truth, supposing, that gain is godliness;[t] but they know that godliness with contentment is great gain.[u] And having food and raiment, they are therewith content.[x]

[s] 2 Pet. ii. 3.
[t] 1 Tim. vi. 5.
[u] 1 Tim. vi. 6.
[x] 1 Tim. vi. 8.

ARTICLE XVII.

Concerning Worship.

The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship him.[y] God is a Spirit, and they which worship, must worship him in spirit and in truth;[z] for the Lord is nigh to all them that call upon him, to all that call upon him in truth.[a] He is far from the wicked; but he heareth the prayer of the righteous.[b] And this is the confidence that we have in him, that if we ask any thing according to his will, he heareth us.[c] What is it then? We must pray with the Spirit, and with the understanding also;[d] likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities; for we know not what we should pray for, as we ought; but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us, with groanings which cannot be uttered. And he that searcheth the heart, knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God.[e]

[y] John iv. 23.
[z] John iv. 24.
[a] Psal. cxlv. 18.
[b] Prov. xv. 29.
[c] 1 John v. 14.
[d] 1 Cor. xiv. 15.
[e] Rom. viii. 26, 27.

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ARTICLE XVIII.

Concerning Baptism.

As there is one Lord, one faith, so there is one baptism,[f] which doth also now save us; not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.[g] For John indeed baptized with water, but Christ with the Holy Ghost and with fire.[h] Therefore as many as are baptized into Jesus Christ, are baptized into his death, and are buried with him by baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so they also should walk in newness of life,[i] having put on Christ.[k]

[f] Ephes. iv. 5.
[g] 1 Pet. iii. 21.
[h] Matt. iii. 11.
[i] Rom. vi. 3, 4.
[k] Gal. iii. 27.

ARTICLE XIX.

Concerning Eating of Bread and Wine; Washing of one another's Feet; abstaining from Things Strangled, and from Blood; and Anointing of the Sick with Oil.

The Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, take, eat, this is my body, which is broken for you; this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, this cup is the new testament in my blood; this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. For as oft as ye do eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show forth the Lord's death, till he come.[l] Jesus

[l] 1 Cor. xi. 23, 24, 25, 26.

1673. knowing, that the Father had given all things into his hands, and that he was come from God, and went to God; he raiseth from supper, and laid aside his garments, and took a towel, and girded himself; after that he poured water into a basin, and began to wash the disciples' feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded. So after he had washed their feet, and had taken his garments, and set down again, he said unto them, know ye, what I have done unto you? Ye call me Master and Lord, and ye say well; for so I am; if I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet; for I have given you an example; that ye should do, as I have done unto you.[m] For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us, to lay upon you no greater burthen, than these necessary things; that ye abstain from meats offered to idols; from blood and from things strangled; and from fornication; from which if ye keep yourselves, ye do well.[n] Is any man sick among you, let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil.[o]

m John xiii. 3, 4, 5. 12, 13, 14, 15.

n Acts xv. 28, 29.

o James v. 14.

ARTICLE XX.

Concerning the Liberty of such Christians as are come to know the Substance, as to the using, or not using of these Rites, and of the Observation of Days.

The kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.[p] Let no man therefore judge us in meat, or drink, or in respect of

p Rom. xiv. 17.

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an holy day, or of the new moon, or the sabbath days;[q] for if we be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are we subject to ordinances? Let us not touch, or taste, or handle, (which all are to perish with the using,) after the commandments and doctrines of men.[r] For now, after we have known God, or rather are known of him, why should we turn again unto the weak and beggarly elements, or desire again to be in bondage, to observe days, and months, and times, and years, lest labour have been bestowed on us in vain?[s] If one man esteem a day above another, and another esteemeth every day alike; let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind: he that regardeth a day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day to the Lord, he doth not regard it.[t]

[q] Col. ii. 16.

[r] Col. ii. 20, 21, 22.

[s] Gal. iv. 9, 10, 11.

[t] Rom. xiv. 5, 6.

ARTICLE XXI.

Concerning Swearing, Fighting and Persecution.

It hath been said by them of old, thou shalt not forswear thyself; but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths: but Christ says unto us, swear not at all, neither by heaven, for it is God's throne; nor by the earth, for it is his footstool; neither by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great king: neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black. But let your communication be *yea, yea; nay, nay:* for whatsoever is more than these, cometh of evil.[u] And James chargeth us, above all things not to swear, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath; but let your *yea* be *yea*, and

[u] Mat. v. 33, 34, 35, 36, 37.

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your *nay*, *nay*, lest ye fall into condemnation.[x] Though we walk in the flesh, we are not to war after the flesh; for the weapons of our warfare are not to be carnal, but mighty through God, to the pulling down of strong holds, casting down imaginations, and every high thing, that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ.[y] For wars and fightings come of the lusts, that war in the members:[z] therefore Christ commands, not to resist evil; but whosoever will smite on the right cheek, to turn the other also.[a] Because Christians are lambs among wolves;[b] therefore are they hated of all men, for Christ's sake.[c] And all that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution:[d] such are blessed, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.[e] For though they have lost their lives, yet shall they save them;[f] and because they have confessed Christ before men, he will also confess them before the angels of God.[g] We ought not then to fear them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather him, which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.[h]

[x] Jam. v. 12.

[y] 2 Cor. x. 3, 4, 5.

[z] Jam. iv. 1.

[a] Mat. v. 39.

[b] Luke x. 3.

[c] Mat. x. 22.

[d] 2 Tim. iii. 12.

[e] Mat. v. 10.

[f] Mat. xvi. 25.

[g] Luke xii. 8.

[h] Mat. x. 28.

ARTICLE XXII.

Concerning Magistracy.

Let every soul be subject to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God: the powers that be, are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resists the power, resists the ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil:

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wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same; for he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain; for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil. Wherefore we must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake: for, for this cause pay we also tribute; for they are God's ministers attending continually upon this very thing. Render therefore to all their dues, tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour.[i] Therefore are we to submit ourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king, as supreme; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him, for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well: for so is the will of God, that with well-doing we may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men.[k] Yet it is right in the sight of God to hearken unto him, more than unto them.[l] And though they straitly command us, not to teach in Christ's name, we ought to obey God, rather than men.[m]

i Rom. xiii. 1, 2—7.

k 1Pet. ii. 13, 14, 15.
l Acts iv. 19.

m Acts v. 28, 29.

ARTICLE XXIII.

Concerning the Resurrection.

There shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust.[n] They that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation.[o] Flesh and blood cannot in-

n Acts xxiv. 15.

o John v. 29.

1673. herit the kingdom of God, neither doth corruption inherit incorruption:[p] nor is that body sown, that shall be; but God gives it a body, as it has pleased him, and to every seed his own body. It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption; it is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power; it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body.[q]

[p] 1 Cor. xv. 50.

[q] 1 Cor. xv. 37, 38. 42, 43, 44.

CHAP. XVII.

A short Expostulation with, and Appeal to, all other Professors.

Come, let us reason with you, all ye professors of Christianity, of what sort or kind soever: and bring forth your catechisms and confessions of faith to that which by most of yourselves is accounted the touchstone or rule. And suffer yourselves no more to be blinded, and to err through your ignorance of the Scriptures, and of the power of God; but freely acknowledge and confess to that glorious gospel and light, which the Scriptures so clearly witness to, and your experience must needs answer: as also to these other doctrines, which consequently depend upon the behalf of that noble and truly catholic principle, wherein the love of God is so mercifully exhibited to all men, and his justice and mercy do like twins so harmoniously concord: his mercy in the oft tendering of his love through the strivings and wrestlings of his light, during the day of every man's visitation; and his justice, both in the destroying and cutting away of the wicked nature and spirit in those, that suffer themselves to be redeemed through his judgments:

The noble principle of truth all are invited unto.

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And in the utter overthrow of such, who, rebelling against the light, and doing despite to the Spirit of grace, hate to be reformed. Now not only this fundamental principle is clearly held forth in this treatise, but all these that depend upon it, as the real and inward justification of the saints, through the power and life of Jesus revealed in them, their full and perfect redemption from the body of death and sin, as they grow up by the workings and prevalency of his grace. And yet, lest security should enter, there is great need of watchfulness, in that they may even depart, after they have really witnessed a good condition, and make shipwreck of the faith, and of a good conscience, with all the parts of the doctrine of Christ, as they lie linked together like a golden chain, which doth very much evidence the certainty and virtue of truth above all heresies, error and deceit, however so cunningly gilded with the specious pretences thereof. For truth is entire in all its parts, and consonant to itself, without the least jar; having a wonderful coherence, and notable harmony, answering together like the strings of a well tuned instrument; whereas the principles of all other professors, though in some things most of them come near, and divers acknowledge that which is truth, yet in most things they stray from it; so that their principles greatly contradict and jar one against another. And though they may allege Scriptures for some of their principles: yet they are put strangely to wrest it, and to deny it for others. My appeal then to, and expostulation with, all sorts of professors is, not to prove some one or two points by the Scriptures, (for there be some general notions of truth, which most, if not all, agree to,) but the whole body of our principles, as they stand in relation

The harmony of truth, as of a well tuned instrument.

1673. to each other, which none of them all is able to do. For among the many professors their catechisms and confessions of faith, I find none (save the dispensation of truth now again revealed) but such, as in most of their substantial principles, differ greatly, and in many contradict grossly the plain text and tenor of the Scripture.

I confess, there be certain men in this age, who with some plausible appearance of reality undertake this task; these are they, that join with, and own not wholly any embodied people; but while they pretend a general love to all, yet find fault with some part of every sort, while in the mean time they scarce give any account of their own religion, and most of them prove at bottom to have none at all. These men, I say, may perhaps acknowledge some general truths, and also hold to the letter of the Scripture in some other things, so as thereby to take occasion largely to judge others; while themselves offer not to bring these good things to practice, they blame others for the want or neglect of. But such an enterprise from these men, will not (when weighed) prove a fulfilling of this matter; seeing it is not enough to acknowledge many truths, but also to deny and witness against all error; and likewise not to fall short of any truth, which ought to be acknowledged; whereas these sort of men for the most part cannot give account of their faith in many things needful to be believed; and whatever things they may acknowledge to be true, they err most grievously, and contradict a truth most needful to be minded and answered, as is proved hereto, in that they stand not forth to appear for any of these discoveries, they pretend they have; but make a shift to hide their heads in times of trial, so as not to suffer for, nor with

Pretenders hide their heads in time of trial.

any. And through these fine pretences above mentioned, through their scruples of joining with any, they can cunningly shun the difficulties of persecutions, that attend the particular sects of Christians; yet by their general charity and love to all, claim a share in any benefits or advantages, that accrue to one and all: such then cannot honestly lay claim to justify their principles and practices from the Scriptures. But I leave these stragglers in religion, and come again to the divers sects. 1673.

To begin with these, that are most numerous, I think, I need not say much to the Papists in this case; for they do not so much as pretend to prove all their dogmas by the Scriptures: sith it is one of their chief doctrines, that tradition may authorise doctrines, without any authority of Scriptures: yea, the counsel of Constance hath made bold to command things to be believed *non obstante Scripturâ;* i. e. though the Scriptures say the contrary. And indeed, it were their great folly, to pretend to prove their doctrines by Scripture; seeing, the adoration of saints and images, purgatory, and prayer for the dead, the precedency of the bishop of Rome, the matter of indulgencies, with much more stuff of that kind, hath not the least shadow of Scripture for it. Papistical dogmas, traditions, and councils.

Among Protestants, I know, the Socinians are great pretenders to the Scriptures, and in words as much exalt them as any other people: and yet it is strange to see, how that not only in many things they are not agreeable to them, but in some of their chief principles quite contrary unto it: as in their denying the divinity of Christ, which is as expressly mentioned, as any thing can be; 'and the Word was God,' John 1. As also in denying his being from the beginning, against the very tenor of that of Socinians' pretences contrary to Scriptures.

1673. John 1, and divers others; as at large is shown in the third chapter of this Treatise. Divers other things as to them, might be mentioned; but this may suffice, to stop their boasting in this matter.

Arminians' denials do centre amiss.

The Arminians are not more successful in their denying the doctrine of absolute reprobation, and in asserting the universal extent of Christ's death for all, than they are short in not placing this salvation in that spiritual light, wherewith man is enlightened by Christ; but wrongously ascribing a part of that to the natural will and capacity, which is due alone to the grace and power of God, by which the work is both begun, carried on and accomplished. And herein they, as well as both the Socinians and Pelagians, though they do well in condemning their errors, yet they miss it in setting up another, and not the truth in place thereof: and in that respect are justly proved by such Scriptures, as their adversaries (who otherwise are as far wrong as they) bring against them, in showing the depravity of man's will by nature, and his incapacity to do any good, but as assisted by the grace of God so to do.

Pelagians the like.

On the other hand it is strange to observe, how many Protestants (the first article of whose confession of faith is, to assert the Scripture to be the only rule) should deny the universal extent of Christ's death, contrary to the express words of Scripture, which saith, 'he tasted death for every man:' or the universality of grace, and a sufficient principle, which the Scriptures assert in as many positive words, as (except we suppose the penmen intended another thing than they spake) it was possible to do, viz. a manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal; the grace of God, that brings

salvation, hath appeared unto all men: and many more before mentioned. The like may be said of their denying the perfection of the saints, and asserting the impossibility of any falling away from real beginnings of true and saving grace; contrary to so many express Scriptures, as are heretofore adduced in their proper place. But to give all, that desire to be undeceived, a more full opportunity to observe, how the devil has abused many pretending to be wise, in making them cloak with a pretence of Scripture, false and pernicious doctrines, I shall take a few of many instances out of the confession of faith and catechism made by the divines at Westmister, (so called,) because the same is not only most universally received and believed by the people of Britain and Ireland; but also containeth upon the matter the faith of the French churches, and of most others, both in the Netherlands, and elsewhere: that it may appear, what wild consequences these men have sought, both contrary to the naked import of the words, and to all common sense and reason, to cover some of their erroneous principles. 1673.

CHAP. XVIII.

A Short Examination of some of the Scripture proofs, alleged by the divines at Westminster, to prove divers Articles in their Confession of Faith and Catechism.

It is not in the least my design in this chapter, to offer so large an examination of any of their articles, as might be done, nor yet of so many, as are very obvious; but only of two or three, to give the reader a taste of them for example's sake: whereby, as *ex ungue leonem*,

1673. he may judge of most of all the rest, if he will be at the pains narrowly to look over and examine them.

I shall begin with the first chapter, sect. 1. where they assert two things: first, 'that God has committed his will wholly now to writing.' Secondly, 'that the former ways of God's revealing his will, as by immediate revelation, are now ceased.' The Scriptures they bring to prove, are first, Prov. xxii. 19, 20, 21. Verse 19. 'That thy trust may be in the Lord, I have made known to thee this day, even to thee.' Verse 20. 'Have not I written to thee excellent things in counsel and knowledge?' Verse 21. 'That I might make thee know the certainty of the words of truth, that thou mightest answer the words of truth to them that send unto thee.' Luke i. 3, 4. Verse 3. 'It seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest know the certainty of these things, wherein thou hast been instructed.' Rom. xv. 4. 'For whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope.' Matt. iv. 4. 7. 10. 'But he answered, and said, it is written, man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word, that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.' Verse 7. 'Jesus said unto him, it is written again, thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.' Verse 10. 'Then saith Jesus unto him, get thee hence, Satan; for it is written, thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.' Isai. viii. 19, 20. Verse 19. 'And when they shall say unto you, seek unto them that have familiar spirits, and unto wizards, that peep and that mutter; should

Their pretended proofs for the written word.

not a people seek unto their God? for the living to the dead?' Verse 20. 'To the law and to the testimony, if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them.' 1673.

But is it not matter of admiration, that men should be so beside themselves, as to imagine, these testimonies do in the least prove their assertion? or that others, that do not take things merely upon trust, would be so foolish, as to believe them? For though God made known and wrote excellent things to Solomon; though Luke wrote unto Theophilus an account of divers transactions of Christ's outward abode; (for many were never written, John xxi. 25, and xx. 30. And there are also many other things, which Jesus did, the which if they should be written every one, I suppose, that even the world itself could not contain the books, that should be written: and many other things truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book;) though Christ made use of divers Scriptures against Satan, and that Isaiah directed people to the law, and to the testimony; who will be so mad as to say, it naturally follows from thence, that God has now committed his will wholly to writing? Such a consequence is no more deducible from these Scriptures, than if I should argue thus: the divines of Westminster have asserted many things without ground, therefore they had ground for nothing they said. Nay, it follows not by far so naturally; seeing after the writing of all these passages by them cited, according to their own judgment, there were divers Scriptures written: so that it had been false for them to assert, that God had then committed his counsel wholly to writing; which indeed was not true: so it is most irrational and unwarrantable for any, to

Many things were never written.

1673. draw such a strange and strained consequence from their words.

For the second, that the former ways are now ceased, they allege, 2 Tim. iii. 15, where Paul writes to Timothy, saying, that from a child he [Timothy] hath known the holy Scriptures, which were able to make him wise unto salvation through faith, which is in Christ Jesus. And, Heb. i. 1, 2. God, who at sundry times and in divers manners, spake in times past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds. And, 2 Pet. i. 19. we have also a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day star arise in your hearts.

Pretended proofs for Scripture revelations only.

Which prove the matter as little as the former. If Paul had intended by that to Timothy, what those divines would have, would not they have made the apostle speak a manifest untruth? Seeing they themselves acknowledge, that John's revelation was written long after: so that these former ways were not then ceased. As for that of Peter, it is to beg the thing in question, to say, it is intended of the Scripture: and though it were, it proves not the case at all. That of the Hebrews is so far from asserting the matter they would have it, that it may be very aptly brought to prove the quite contrary. For God indeed speaks to us now by his Son; but to infer from thence, that the Son speaks only to us by the Scriptures, remains yet unproved: and for the apostle to have asserted it, had been false, seeing the revelations, which he and others afterwards had, were inward, and so such were not ceased. And if we may trust the same apostle better than these

John's revelation, when written.

That the Son speaks only by the Scriptures, is erroneous.

men, he tells us, that so soon as Christ was revealed in him, he went straight and obeyed. And the same apostle tells us, that except Christ be in us, we are reprobates. Sure, he is not dumb in us, seeing he says, he will dwell in us, and walk in us, and be with us to the end of the world. And John tells us, that the inward anointing is to teach us all things; so that we need not, as to any absolute necessity, any man to teach us: how then is this ceased, seeing God speaks to us by Christ, and Christ must be in us? Surely, these men have not herein followed the rule of the Scriptures; but rather endeavoured most grossly to wrest them, and make of them a nose of wax, notwithstanding their pretences as to the contrary in their sixth section, where they say: 'all things necessary are either expressly set down, or by good and necessary consequences may be deduced.' 1673.

Now that these two former assertions are not expressly set down, they will not deny: whether they follow by sound consequence, any understanding man may judge, by what is above observed.

There are divers other things in the same chapter, which will not abide the test, for which the Scripture proofs alleged by them, are most ridiculous, which for brevity's sake I have omitted.

In chap. 21, sect. 7, where they say, 'that the sabbath from the resurrection of Christ was changed into the first day of the week, which in Scripture (say they) is called the Lord's day, and is to be continued to the end of the world, as the Christians' sabbath.' In which they assert three things.

First, that the first day of the week is come in place of the seventh for a sabbath. To prove which, they allege 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2. 'Now

1673. concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye. Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him; that there be no gathering, when I come.' Acts xx. 7. 'And upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached to them, ready to depart on the morrow, and continued his speech until midnight.

The divines' nonsensical proofs, that the first day of the week is instead of the sabbath.

That these proofs assert not the things expressly, we need not, I suppose, dispute. Now to say, that because Paul desires the Corinthians to lay something by them in store that day; or because he brake bread, and continued his speech until midnight; therefore the first day of the week is come in place of the sabbath: is a consequence more remarkable for its sottishness, than to be credited for its soundness. Indeed, to make so solemn an article of faith, as these men would have the morality of the first day of the week to be, would need a more positive and express authority. The text doth clearly enough tell the reason of the disciples meeting so frequently, and of Paul's preaching so long, because he was ready to depart to-morrow; it speaks not a word of its being sabbath.

The Lord's day.

Their second assertion, that the first day of the week is therefore called the Lord's day, is drawn more strangely from that of Rev. i. 10. 'I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day, and heard behind me a great voice, as of a trumpet:' whereas no particular day of the week is mentioned. So for them to say, John meant the first day of the week, hath no more proof, but their own bare assertion.

The sabbath day.

For their third assertion, that it is to be continued to the end of the world, as the Christian

sabbath; they that allege these Scriptures, Exod. xx. 8. 10, 11. 'Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy: but the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt not do any work, thou nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy man servant, nor thy maid servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger which is within thy gates: for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day; wherefore the Lord blessed the sabbath day, and hallowed it.' Isai. lvi. 2. 4. 6, 7. Matt. v. 17, 18. 'Think not, that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil; for verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot or tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled.' 1673.

If they prove any thing, they must needs prove the continuance of the seventh day; seeing in all the law there is no mention made of the first day of the week being a sabbath. If these may be reckoned good and sound consequences, I know no absurdities so great, no heresies so damnable, no superstitions so ridiculous, but may be clothed with the authority of Scripture. The seventh day.

In their twenty-seventh chapter, in the 1, 2, 3. sections, they speak at large of the definition and nature of sacraments; but in all the Scriptures they bring, there is not one word of sacraments. The truth is, there was a good reason for this omission; for such a thing is not to be found in all the Bible. For them to allege, that the thing signified is to be found in Scripture, (though that be also a begging of the question,) will not excuse such, who elsewhere aver, the whole counsel of God is contained in the Scripture, to forsake and reject the tenor thereof, and scrape, out of the rubbish of the The word sacrament, not to be found in all the Bible.

1673. Romish tradition, for that which is reckoned by themselves so substantial a part of their faith.

In their fourth section they assert two things: First, that there are two only sacraments under the gospel. Secondly, that these two are baptism, and the supper.

To prove which they allege, Matt. xxviii. 19. 'Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' 1 Cor. xi. 20. 23. 'When ye come together therefore into one place, this is not to eat the Lord's supper: for I have received of the Lord, that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread.' 1 Cor. iv. 1. 'Let a man so account of us, as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God.' Heb. v. 4. 'And no man taketh this honour to himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron.'

Now, granting there were such a thing as sacraments, to be solemnly performed; all that these Scriptures will prove, is, that these two are appointed to be performed; but that there are only two, or that these are they, (which is the thing asserted, and incumbent to be proved,) there is not the least shadow of proof alleged. For according to their own definition of a sacrament in the larger catechism, where they say, 'the parts of a sacrament are two; the one an outward and sensible sign, used according to Christ's own appointment; the other, an inward and spiritual grace thereby signified;' both the washing of one another's feet, and the anointing the sick with oil, doth answer to it, and many other things. So that the probation of a sacrament at all, or of their being two, seven, yea, or seventy, is all alike easy; seeing neither name nor number is to be

found in the Scripture; they being the mere conceits and inventions of men. And yet it is marvellous to see, with how great confidence some men do assert the Scripture to be their rule; while they build up so considerable parts of their doctrine without the least Scripture foundation. 1673.

Thus I thought fit to pitch upon these three, viz. the Scriptures, Sabbath and Sacraments, because these be three of the main things, for which the Quakers are chiefly cried out against, and accused, as believing erroneously concerning them. Now what we believe concerning these things, and how agreeable our testimony herein is to the Scriptures, is heretofore sufficiently demonstrated; also, how little Scripture proof these have for their contrary assertions to us in these things, notwithstanding of their great pretences to Scripture, will also appear to the unbiassed reader.

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ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

Note, reader, that I have here throughout made use of the last common translation of the Bible; and if I would have made use of the Hebrew and Greek, I could have produced divers other very clear Scriptures, which in the common translation are corrupted and perverted. But I choosed rather to do thus, that our opposers might see I took no advantage that way; and also, that all that can but read, may find the places cited in their own Bibles.

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EQUALLY REFUSED AND REFUTED, IN A TWO-FOLD APOLOGY, FOR THE CHURCH AND PEOPLE OF GOD, CALLED, IN DERISION, QUAKERS:

Wherein they are Vindicated from those that accuse them of disorder and confusion on the one hand, and from such as calumniate them with tyranny and imposition on the other: showing, that as the true and pure principles of the Gospel are restored by their testimony; so is also the ancient apostolic order of the church of Christ re-established among them, and settled upon its right basis and foundation.

BY ROBERT BARCLAY.

Phil. ii. 3. "Let nothing be done through strife or vain glory; but in lowliness of mind let each esteem another better than themselves.

Heb. xiii. 7. "Remember them that have the rule over you, who spoke unto you the word of God, whose faith follow."

PREFACE TO THE READER.

Such is the malignity of man's nature in his fallen state, and so averse is he from walking in the straight and even path of truth, that at every turn he is inclinable to lean either to the right hand or to the left; yea, such as by the work of God's grace in their hearts, and powerful operation of his Spirit, have obtained an entrance in this way, are daily molested, and set upon on all hands; some striving to draw them the one way, some the other: and if through the power of God they be kept faithful and stable, then are they calumniated on both sides; each likening or comparing them to the worst of their enemies.

Those that are acquainted with the holy Scriptures, may observe this to be the lot of the saints in all ages; but especially those, whose place it hath been to reform and restore the ruins of the house of God, when decayed, or any considerable time have been liable to such censures: hence those that set about repairing of the walls of Jerusalem, were necessitated to work with the one hand, and defend with the other.

Christ is accused of the Jews as a Samaritan; and by the Samaritans quarrelled for being a Jew. The apostle Paul is whipped and imprisoned by the Gentiles, and upbraided with being a Jew, and teaching their customs; the same Paul is haled and ready to be killed by the Jews, for breaking the law and defiling the temple with the Gentiles. The like hath also

1674. befallen those faithful witnesses, and messengers, whom God has raised up in this day to witness for his truth, which hath long been in a great measure hid; but now is again revealed, and many brought to be witnesses of it, who thereby come to walk in the light of the Lord.

This people thus gathered, have not wanted those trials, that usually accompany the church of Christ, both on the right hand and on the left, each characterising them in such terms, as they have judged would prove most to their disadvantage. From whence (as the testimony of the false witnesses against their Lord did not agree, neither do these against us) some will have us to be foolish, mad creatures; others to be deep, subtil politicians;* some to be illiterate, ignorant fellows; others to be learned, cunning Jesuits under a mere vizard: divers professors will have us to be only pensioners of the pope, undoubtedly Papists; but the Papists abhor us as heretics: sometimes we are a disorderly, confused rabble, leaving every one to do as they list, against all good order and government; at other times we are so much for order, as we admit not men to exercise the liberty of their own judgments. Thus are our reputations tossed by the envy of our adversaries; which yet cannot but have this effect upon sober-minded people, as to see what malice works against us; and how these men, by their contradictory assertions concerning us, save us the pains, while they refute one another.

* John Owen charges us with so much ignorance, that though he writes against us in Latin, he fears we will not understand it. And Thomas Danson about the same time accuses us of being Jesuits, sent from abroad under this vizard.

True it is, we have laboured to walk amidst these extremities; and upon our appearing for the truth, we have found things good in themselves abused on both hands: for such has always been the work of an apostacy, to keep up the shadow of certain truths; that there-through

they might shelter other evils. Thus the Jews made use of the law and the prophets to vindicate their abuses; yea, and to crucify Christ: and how much many Christians abuse the Scriptures and the traditions of the apostles, to uphold things quite contrary to it, will in the general be readily acknowledged by most. 1674.

But to descend more particularly: there be two things especially, both of which in their primitive use were appointed, and did very much contribute towards the edification of the church: the one is,

I. The power and authority, which the apostles had given them of Christ, for the gathering, building up, and governing of his church; by virtue of which power and authority they also wrote the holy Scriptures.

II. The other is, that privilege given to every Christian under the gospel, to be led and guided by the Spirit of Christ, and to be taught thereof in all things.

Now, both these in the primitive church wrought effectually towards the same end of edification; and did (as in their nature they may, and in their use they ought to do) in a good harmony very well consist together: but by the workings of Satan and perverseness of men, they are made to fight against and destroy one another. For on the one hand the authority and power, that resided in the apostles while it is annexed and entailed to an outward ordination and succession of teachers, is made use of to cloak and cover all manner of abuses, even the height of idolatry and superstition. For by virtue of this succession, these men claiming the like infallibility, that was in the apostles, (though they be strangers to any inward work, or manifestation of the Spirit in their hearts,) will needs oblige all others to

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acquiesce and agree to their conclusions, however different from, or contrary to, the truths of the gospel; and yet for any to call such conclusions in question, or examine them, is no less than a heinous heresy, deserving death, &c. Or while the revelation of God's mind is wholly bound up to these things already delivered in the Scriptures, (as if God had spoke his last words there to his people,*) we are put with our own natural understandings to debate about the meanings of it, and forced to interpret them not as they plainly speak, but according to the analogy of a certain faith made by men, not so much contrived to answer the Scriptures, as the Scriptures are strained to vindicate it: which, to doubt of, is also counted heresy, deserving no less than ejection out of our native country, and to be robbed of the common aid our nativity entitles us to. And on this hand, we may boldly say, both Papists and Protestants have greatly gone aside.

* So saith James Durham, a noted man among the Presbyterians, in his Exposition upon the Revelations.

On the other hand, some are so great pretenders to inward motions and revelations of the Spirit, that there are no extravagances so wild, which they will not cloak with it; and so much are they for every one's following their own mind, as can admit of no Christian fellowship and community, nor of that good order and discipline, which the church of Christ never was nor can be without. This gives an open door to all libertinism, and brings great reproach to the Christian faith. And on this hand have foully fallen the German Anabaptists, so called, John of Leyden, Knipperdolling, &c. (in case these monstrous things committed by them be such as they are related,) and some more moderate of that kind have been found among the people in England, called Ranters; as it is true, the people called Quakers have

been branded with both of these extremes, it is as true, it hath been and is their work to avoid them; and to be found in that even and good path of the primitive church, where all were (no doubt) led and acted by the Holy Spirit; and might all have prophesied one by one; and yet there was a subjection of the prophets to the spirits of the prophets. There was an authority some had in the church, and yet it was for edification, and not for destruction: there was an obedience in the Lord to such as were set over; and a being taught by such, and yet a knowing of the inward anointing, by which each individual was to be led into all truth. The work and testimony the Lord hath given us is, to restore this again, and to set both these in their right place, without causing them to destroy one another. To manifest how this is accomplished, and accomplishing among us, is the business of this Treatise; which, I hope, will give some satisfaction to men of sober judgments, and impartial, and unprejudicate spirits: and may be made useful in the good hand of the Lord, to confirm and establish Friends against their present opposers; which is mainly intended and earnestly prayed for by 1674.

ROBERT BARCLAY.

The 17th of the 8th month, 1674.

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SECTION I.

The Introduction and Method of this Treatise.

The end of the law and beginning of the gospel dispensation recited.

After that the Lord God in his own appointed time had seen meet to put an end to the dispensation of the law, which was delivered to the children of Israel by the ministry of Moses; through and by whom he did communicate unto them in the wilderness from Mount Sinai divers commandments, ordinances, appointments, and observations, according as they are testified in the writings of the law; it pleased him to send his own Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, in the fulness of time; who having perfectly fulfilled the law and the righteousness thereof, gave witness to the dispensation of the gospel. And having approved himself, and the excellency of his doctrine, by many great and wonderful signs and miracles, he sealed it with his blood; and triumphing over death, (of which it was impossible for him to be held,) he cherished and encouraged his despised witnesses, who had believed in him, in that he appeared to them, after he was raised from the dead; comforting them with the hope and assurance of the pouring forth of his Spirit, by which they were to be led and ordered in all things; in and by which he was to be with them to the end of the world, not suffering the gates of hell to prevail against them. By which Spirit come upon them, they being filled, were emboldened to preach the gospel without

1674. fear; and in a short time thousands were added to the church; and the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul, and great love and zeal prevailed, and there was nothing lacking for a season.

The divers sorts of them that were called in the apostles' days.

But all that were caught in the net, did not prove good and wholesome fish; some were again to be cast into that ocean, from whence they were drawn; of those many that were called, all proved not chosen vessels fit for the master's use; and of all that were brought into the great supper, and marriage of the king's son, there were that were found without the wedding garment. Some made a show for a season, and afterwards fell away; there were that drew back; there were that made shipwreck of faith, and of a good conscience; there were not only such as did backslide themselves, but sought to draw others into the same perdition with themselves, seeking to overturn their faith also; yea, there were that brought in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them. And also of those members that became not wholly corrupt, (for some were never again restored by repentance,) there were that were weak, and sickly, and young; some were to be fed with milk, and not with strong meat; some were to be purged, when the old leaven received any place; and some to be cut off for a season, to be shut out, (as it were,) of the camp for a time, until their leprosy were healed, and then to be received in again.

The order in the church of God in the outwards.

Moreover, as to outwards, there was the care of the poor, of the widow, of the fatherless, of the strangers, &c. Therefore the Lord Jesus Christ who is the head of the body, the church, (for the church is the body of Christ, and the saints are the several members of that body,) knowing

in his infinite wisdom, what was needful for the good ordering and disposing all things in their proper place, and for preserving and keeping all things in their right station, did, in the dispensation and communication of his holy Spirit, minister unto every member a measure of the same Spirit, yet divers according to operation, for the edification of the body; some apostles, some teachers, some pastors, some elders: there are old men, there are young men, there are babes. For all are not apostles, neither are all elders, neither are all babes; yet are all members: and as such, all have a sense and feeling of the life of the body, which from the head flows unto all the body, as the ointment of Aaron's beard unto the skirts of his garment: and every member has its place and station in the body, so long as it keeps in the life of the body; and all have need one of another: yet is no member to assume another place in the body, than God has given it; nor yet to grudge or repine its fellow member's place; but to be content with its own: for the uncomely parts are no less needful than the comely; and the less honourable than the more honourable: which the apostle Paul holds forth in 1 Cor. xii. from verse 13 to 30. 1674.

The ground of rents and divisions.

Now the ground of all schisms, divisions or rents in the body is, when as any member assumes another place than is allotted it; or being gone from the life and unity of the body, and losing the sense of it, lets in the murmurer, the eye that watches for evil, and not in holy care over its fellow members: and then, instead of coming down to judgment in itself, will stand up and judge its fellow members, yea, the whole body or those whom God has set in a more honourable and eminent place in the body than itself. Such suffer not the word of exhortation;

1674. and term the reproofs of instruction, (which is the way of life,) imposition and oppression, and are not aware how far they are in the things they condemn others for; while they spare not to reprove and revile all their fellow members: yet if they be but admonished themselves, they cry out as if their great charter of gospel liberty were broken.

The subtility of that spirit. Now, though such, and the spirit by which they are acted, be sufficiently seen and felt by thousands, whose hearts God has so established, as they are out of danger of being entangled in that snare; and who have power and strength in themselves to judge that spirit, even in its most subtil appearances; yet there are, who cannot so well withstand the subtility and seeming sincerity some such pretend to, though in measure they have a sight of them; and others, that cannot so rightly distinguish between the precious and the vile; and some there are that through weakness and want of true discerning, may be deceived, and the simplicity in them betrayed for a season; as it is written, 'with fair speeches and smooth words they deceive the hearts of the simple.'

Therefore having, according to my measure, received an opening in my understanding as to these things, from the light of the Lord, and having been for some time under the weighty sense of them, I find at this instant a freedom to commit them to writing, for the more universal benefit and edification of the church of Christ.

The heads treated of, viz. Now, for the more plain and clear opening and understanding of these things, it is fit to sum up this Treatise in these following general heads, to be considered of:

I. *First*, From whence the ground and cause of this controversy is, the rise and root of it.

Secondly, Whether there be now any order and government in the church of Christ. 1674.

Thirdly, What is the order and government which we plead for. In what cases, and how far it may extend. In whom the power decisive is, and how it differeth. And is wholly another, than the oppressing and persecuting principality of the church of Rome, and other anti-christian assemblies. II. III.

SECTION II.

Concerning the Ground and Cause of this Controversy.

When as the Lord God by his mighty power began to visit the nations with the dawning of his heavenly day, (for thus I write unto those that have received and believed the truth,) and that he sent forth his instruments, whom he had fitted and prepared for his work, having fashioned them not according to the wisdom and will of man, but to his own heavenly wisdom and counsel, they went forth and preached the gospel in the evidence and demonstration of the Spirit: not in the enticing words of man's wisdom; but in appearance as fools and mad, to those that judged according to man. But their words and testimony pierced through into the inner man in the heart, and reached to that of God in the conscience; whereby as many as were simple hearted, and waited for the redemption of their souls, received them as the messengers of the Most High God; and their words were unto them, not as the words of men, but as the words of God: for in the receiving and embracing the testimony of truth

The first dawning of the heavenly day of the Lord described.

And breaking forth.

1674. through them, they felt their souls eased, and the acceptable day began to dawn in and upon them.

Now what evidence brought these men to make their testimony to be received? Did they entice? Did they flatter? Did they daub up? Did they preach liberty to the flesh, or will of man? Nay verily, they used no such method: their words were as thunder-bolts, knocking down all that stood in their way, and pouring down the judgment of God upon the head of the transgressor every where. Did they spare the zealous professor more than the open profane? Nay verily, they condemned equally the hypocrisy of the one, as well as the profanity of the other; yet wanted they not regard to the tender seed and plant of God in either. Did they give way? Did they yield to the wisdom of man? To the deceitfulness of the serpent, that would reason truth for themselves, saying, I must stay, until I be convinced of this and that, and the other thing; I see not yet this to be wrong, or the other thing to be my duty? How did they knock down this manner of reasoning by the Spirit of God, which wrought mightily in them, showing and holding forth, that this is the day of the Lord that is dawned; that all are invited to come; that none ought to tarry behind; that that which so pleadeth, is the same Spirit, which of old time said in those that were invited, 'I cannot come yet, I must first marry a wife; I must go prove my yoke of oxen; I must go visit my possessions; let me first bury my dead father?' Did not the Lord through them testify and declare against these things? And is there not a cloud of witnesses, who felt the enemy thus reasoning to keep us in the forms, fellowships, false worships and foolish fashions of this world?

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But we felt, as we were obedient, all these things to be for condemnation; and that, as we obeyed the pure manifestation of the light of Jesus in our hearts, there was no hesitation. We might and should have parted with all those things at the first; and what occasioned such scruples, was but that which drew back, through being unwilling to give pure obedience to the cross of Christ: for as many as gave obedience, and believed in the light, found no occasion of stumbling; but such as believed not were condemned already, because they believed not in him that appeared. Now the boldness, and courage, and efficacy of these messengers' testimony wrought such astonishment, fear and amazement in the hearts of such as were ingenuous, that many began to be inwardly pricked, as in the days of old, and the foundations of many began to be shaken; and some that were asleep were awakened, and many that were dead and buried in the graves of sin, and formality, and superstition, and idolatry of all sorts, were alarmed; and many were brought in from the hedges and the highways, and the truth was received by thousands with great cheerfulness and a readiness of mind: and the feet of those were beheld to be beautiful upon the mountains, that brought the glad tidings of these good things. And great lowliness and simplicity of heart was upon such that were newly convinced of the truth, and deep humiliation of spirit, and subjection to the power, both in themselves, and in those who were over them in the Lord, and had gathered them into the truth.

The courage of the messengers.

But as it was in the gatherings of old, so it also fell out in this day; all kept not their first love: as among those thousands which Moses led out of Egypt, and carried through the Red

1674. Sea, who had sung praises to God upon the banks of salvation, many carcasses fell in the wilderness; some who murmured and longed
Opposition and— to return again to the flesh pots of Egypt; and some for opposing and contradicting the servant, and servants of the Lord, whom the Lord had made use of to lead them out of bondage, in saying, ye take too much upon you. Hath the Lord indeed only spoken by Moses? Hath he not spoken also by us? And as among these multitudes, which were gathered by the apostles, there were many, who continued not faithful to the end; some returned back again with the sow to the puddle, after they were washed;
—Separation entering. some embraced the present world; some again separated themselves, being sensual and without the Spirit, despising dominion, and speaking evil of dignities; their mouths speaking great swelling words, being puffed up, and not abiding in those things, which they were taught of the apostles; so it is to be lamented, that among those many thousands, whom the apostles and evangelists whom God raised up in this day (for the gathering of his seed and people out of spiritual Egypt and Babylon into his pure light and life) did bring forth and gather, there are that have fallen upon the right hand and the left. Some are turned back again into Egypt, running into the same excess of lust and riot, from whence they were once purified and redeemed. Some could not bear the reproach of the cross of Christ; and were by and anon offended in him: some could not bear the tribulations, sufferings, and persecutions, which came for the truth's sake; and the seed in them was soon scorched with the heat of the day. And some not abiding in subjection to the truth in themselves, were not contented with that place and station in the body,

which God had placed them in; but became vainly puffed up in their fleshly minds, intruding into those things which they have not seen: and would needs be innovators, given to change, and introducing new doctrines and practices, not only differing, but contrary to what was already delivered in the beginning; making parties, causing divisions and rents, stumbling the weak, and denying, despising and reviling the apostles and messengers of Christ, the elders of the church, who loved not their lives unto death, but through much care, and travel, and watchings, and whippings, and bonds, and beatings, in daily jeopardy, gathered us by the mighty power of God in the most precious truth. Yet in all this there hath nothing befallen us, but that which hath been the ancient lot of the church of Christ in the primitive times. 1674.

Innovators causing divisions.

Now he that was careful for his church and people in old times, hath not been wanting to us in our day; but as he has again restored the truth unto its primitive integrity and simplicity, and as he has delivered our understandings from these false doctrines and principles, which prevailed in the apostacy; so he hath not gathered us to be as sheep scattered without a shepherd, that every one may run his own way, and every one follow his own will, and so to be as a confused mass or chaos without any order; but he, even the Lord, hath also gathered and is gathering us into the good order, discipline and government of his own Son the Lord Jesus Christ: therefore he hath laid care upon some beyond others, who watch for the souls of their brethren, as they that must give account.

The good shepherd of Israel's care over his church and people.

There are then fathers, that have begotten us unto Christ Jesus through the gospel, of whom we ought to be followers, and to remember their ways, which be in Christ. There

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The several stations in the church. 1 Cor. iv. 15, 16.

are then fathers and children, instructors and instructed, elders and young men, yea, and babes; there are that cannot cease, but must exhort, instruct, reprove, condemn, judge; or else, for what end gave Christ the gifts mentioned Ephes. iv. 11, 12? and how are the saints perfected? and the body of Christ edified of those, who came under the cognizance, and as it were, the test of this order and government? I may chiefly sum them up in three sorts (though there be divers others little subdivided species of them.)

1. Profane backsliding apostates.

The first is, those that turn openly back to the world again, through finding the way of truth too narrow. These have not been capable to do us any considerable hurt; for being as salt, that has lost its savour, they mostly prove a stink among those, to whom they go: and I never knew any of them, that proved any ways steadable to those, to whom they go. I find other professors make but small boast of any proselytes they get out from among us; I hear little of their proving champions for the principles of others against us. And indeed, for the most part they lose all religion with the truth: for I have heard some of them say, that if ever they took on them to be religious, they would come back again to the Quakers, &c.

2. Unwary repenting sinners.

Secondly, Those who through unwatchfulness, the secret corruption of their own hearts, and the mysterious or hidden temptations of the enemy, have fallen into his snares; and so have come under the power of some temptation or other, either of fleshly lusts, or of spiritual wickedness: who being seasonably warned by those that keep their habitation and faithful overseers in the church, have been again restored by unfeigned repentance: not kicking against the pricks: but have rejoiced, that others

watched over them for their good; and are become monuments of God's mercy unto this day. 1674.

Thirdly, Such, who being departed from their first love and ancient zeal for the truth, become cold and lukewarm; and yet are ashamed to make open apostacy, and to turn back again, so as to deny all the principles of truth, they having had already such evidence of clearness upon their understanding; yet not keeping low in their own habitations, but being puffed up, and giving way to the restless imaginations of their exalted and wondering minds, fall out with their brethren; cause divisions; begin to find fault with every thing, and to look at others more than at themselves; with swelling words to talk of and preach up a higher dispensation, while they are far from living up to the life and perfection of this present; like unto such, who said, 'we will not have this man to rule over us:' cry out of formality and apostacy, because they are not followed in all things; and if they be reproved for their unruliness, according to the good order of the church of Christ, then they cry out 'breach of liberty, oppression, persecution! we will have none of your order and government; we are taught to follow the light in our consciences, and not the orders of men.' Well of this hereafter; but this gave the rise of this controversy; which leads me to that, which I proposed in the second place. 3. Self-separating, troublesome opposers.

SECTION III.

Whether there be now to be any Order or Government in the Church of Christ.

In answer to this proposition I meddle not at this time with those, that deny any such

1674. thing as a church of Christ; I have reserved their plea to another place. Neither need I to be at much pains to prove the affirmative, to wit, 'that there ought to be government and order in the church of Christ,' unto the generality of our opposers, both Papists and Protestants, who readily confess and acknowledge it, and have heretofore blamed us for want of it. Though now some of them, and that of the highest pretenders, are become so unreasonable, as to accuse us for the use of it; improving it so far as they can, to our disadvantage; for such is the blindness of partial envy, that whereas the supposed want of it was once reckoned heretical, now the present performance of it is counted criminal.

Church order and government granted.

These, then, to whom I come to prove this thing, are such, who having cast off the yoke of the cross of Christ in themselves, refuse all subjection or government; denying, that any such thing ought to be, as disagreeing with the testimony of truth; or those, who not being so wilful and obstinate in their minds, yet are fearful or scrupulous in the matter, in respect of the dangerous consequences, they may apprehend such a thing may draw after it.

For the clearing then as well the mistakes of the one, as answering the cavils of the other, I judge, the truth of these following assertions will sufficiently prove the matter; which I shall make no great difficulty to evidence.

Reason I. *First*, That Jesus Christ, the king and head of the church, did appoint and ordain, that there should be order and government in it.

II. *Secondly*, That the apostles and primitive Christians, when they were filled with the Holy Ghost, and immediately led by the Spirit of God, did practise and commend it.

III. *Thirdly*, That the same occasion and neces-

sity now occurring, which gave them opportunity to exercise that authority; the church of Christ hath the same power now as ever, and are led by the same Spirit into the same practices. 1674.

As to the first, I know, there are some that the very name of a church, and the very words order and government, they are afraid of. Now this I suppose hath proceeded, because of the great hypocrisy, deceit, and oppression, that hath been cloaked with the pretence of these things; but why should the truth be neglected, because hypocrites have pretended to it? The right institution of these things, which have been appointed and ordained of God, must not, nor ought not to be despised, because corrupt men have abused and perverted them. I know not any thing, that hath been more abused and perverted in the whole world, than the name of a Christian; shall we then renounce that honourable title, because so many thousands of wicked men, yea antichrists, have falsely assumed it to themselves? The man of sin hath taken upon him to sit in the temple of God, as God; yet we must not therefore deny, that God is in his temple. If the synagogue of Satan assumed the name of the church of Christ, and hath termed her oppression and violence, the power and authority thereof; therefore must not the church of Christ and its authority be exercised, where it truly is according to his mind? This I prefix to warn all to beware of stumbling at things, which are innocent in themselves; and that we may labour to hold the steady, even path of truth, without running in either of the extremes. For that Jesus Christ did appoint order and government to be in the church, is very clear from his plain words, Matt. xviii. 15, 16, 17, 18. Verse 15. 'Moreover, if thy brother shall trespass against thee, go tell him his fault between thee and him alone;

The abuse makes not void the true use.

Church order appointed by Christ and the form thereof.

1674. if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. Ver. 16.' 'But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established.' Ver. 17. 'And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church: but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man, and a publican.' Ver. 18. 'Verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.' From which Scripture

1. it doth manifestly and evidently follow, *First*, That Jesus Christ intended, there should be a certain order and method in his church, in the

2. procedure towards such as transgress. *Secondly*, That he that refuseth to hear two, is become more guilty, (as hardened,) than in refusing to

3. hear him, that first reproved alone. *Thirdly*, That refusing to hear the judgment of the church, or whole assembly, he doth thereby exclude himself, and shut out himself from being a member; and is justly judged by his brethren, as an heathen and a publican.

4. And lastly, that the church, gathering or assembly of God's people, has power to examine and call to account such, as appearing to be among them, or owning the same faith with them, do transgress; and in case of their refusing to hear, or repent, to exclude them from their fellowship: and that God hath a special regard to the judgment and sense of his people thus orderly proceeding, so as to hold such bound in heaven, whom they bind on earth, and such loosed in heaven, whom they loose on earth; I am partly confident, that no rational man will deny, but that these naturally follow from the above-mentioned Scripture; and if there should be any found so unreasonable, as to deny it, I could prove it by neces-

sary and inevitable consequences: which at present, as taking it for granted, I forbear to do. If it be reckoned so great a crime to 'offend one of the little ones,' that it were better for him, than so do, that a 'mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and he were drowned in the depth of the sea;' without question, to offend and gainsay, the whole flock must be more criminal, and must draw after it a far deeper judgment. 1674.

Now, if there were no order nor government in the church, what should become of those that transgress? How should they be again restored? Would not this make all reproving, all instructing, all caring for, and watching over one another, void and null? Why should Christ have desired them to proceed after this method? Why doth he place so much weight upon the judgment of the church, as to make the refusing of hearing it to draw so deep a censure after it; which he will not have to follow the refusing to hear one or two apart, though the matter be one and the same? And so as to the substantial and intrinsic truth of the thing, there lies the same obligation upon the transgressor to hear that one, as well as all; for that one adviseth him to that which is right and good, as well as the whole; and they do but homulgate or confirm that, which that one hath already asserted; yet Jesus Christ, who is the author of order, and not of confusion, will not have a brother cut off, or reputed a publican, for refusing to hear one or two, but for refusing to hear the church. And if it be objected, 'that the church of Rome, and all other false churches, make use of this Scripture, and cover their persecution, and cruelty, and oppression by it; and thou sayst no more than they say;' I answer; I suppose no man will be so unreasonable as to affirm, that the church of

The end of church order.

Objection.

1674. Rome abusing this Scripture, will make it false in itself; but how we differ in our application of this Scripture, shall be spoken of hereafter. I am not now claiming right to this power, as due to us, (that is reserved for another place,) but this, I say, is that, which I now aver to be manifest from the Scripture testimony, and to be in itself an unquestionable truth, 'that Jesus Christ intended there should be order and government in his church;' which is the thing at present in hand to be proved; which if it be so really true, (as it cannot be denied,) then I hope it will also necessarily follow, that such, who really and truly are the church of Christ, have right to exercise this order and government.

Reason II. *Secondly*, That the apostles and primitive Christians did practise order and government, we need but read the history of the Acts, of which I shall mention a few pregnant and undeniable testimonies, as we may observe in the very first chapter of the Acts, from verse 13, to the end, where, at the very first meeting the apostles and brethren held together after the ascension of Christ, they began orderly to appoint one to fulfil the place of Judas; it may be thought, this was a needless ceremony: yet we see how the Lord countenanced it. I hope, none will say, that the apostles' appointing of these two men, or of him, upon whom the lot did not fall, contradicted their inward freedom, or imposed upon it; but both agreed very well together; the one in the will and movings of God in appointing, and the other in the same in submitting to their appointment.

Church order practised by the apostles and primitive Christians—in elections,

Moreover, after they had received the Holy Ghost, you may read, Acts vi. so soon as there was an opportunity, how they wisely gave order concerning the distribution of the poor, and appointed some men for that purpose. So here was order and government, according to the

—in distributions for the poor.

present necessity of the case: and the Lord God was well pleased with it, and the word of God increased, and the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly. Might they not have said then, as some say now, we will give our charity to whom we see cause; and we will take no notice of your appointments and orders? Whether would God have approved of such, yea, or nay? 1674.

Thirdly, When that the business of circumcision fell in, whether it was fit or not to circumcise the Gentiles? We see, the apostles saw not meet to suffer every one to follow their own minds and wills: they did not judge, as one confusedly supposeth, that this difference in an outward exercise would commend the unity of the true faith: nay, they took another method. It is said expressly, Acts xv. 16. 'And the apostles and elders came together to consider of this matter;' and after there had been much disputing about it (no doubt then, there were here diversities of opinions and judgments) and the apostles and elders told their judgments, and came also to a positive conclusion. Sure, some behoved to submit, else they should never have agreed. So those that were the elders gave a positive judgment; and they were bold to say, that it pleased not only them, but the Holy Ghost. By all which it doth undeniably appear, that the apostles, and primitive saints, practised a holy order and government among themselves: and I hope, none will be so bold as to say, they did these things without the leadings of the Spirit of God, and his power and authority concurring, and going along with them.

W. M. in his queries.

—in differences occurring.

And that these things were not only singular practices, but that they held it doctrinally, that is to say, it was doctrine, which they preached, that there ought to be order and govern-

The apostles' doctrine concerning order in the church.

1675. ment in the church, is manifest from these following testimonies. 1 Cor. iv. 15, 16, 17. (15.) 'Though you have ten thousand instructors in Christ; yet have ye not many fathers; for in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the gospel.' (16.) 'Wherefore I beseech you, be ye followers of me.' (17.) 'For this cause have I sent unto you Timotheus, who is my beloved son, and faithful in the Lord; who shall bring you into remembrance of my ways, which be in Christ, as I teach every where in every church.' Here the apostle Paul is very absolute: *First*, In that he desires them to be followers of him. *Secondly*, In that he sends a teacher, yea, a minister, and eminent bishop or overseer of the church, for to put them in mind of his ways, which be in Christ, as he taught in every church. No doubt, there were apostates, and dissenting spirits in the church of Corinth, that gave Paul occasion thus to write, as he testifies in the beginning of the chapter, how he was judged by some of them; he shows, how they were grown high, ver. 8. 'Now ye are full, now ye are rich, ye have reigned as kings without us,' &c. Might not these dissenters of the church of Corinth, have reasoned thus against Paul? Did not this Paul teach us, at first, to mind the measure of grace in ourselves, and follow that? (for no doubt, that was Paul's doctrine,) but now he begins to lord it over us, and tells us, we must be followers of him. Might not they have judged the beloved Timothy to be far out of his place? Might they not have said, it seems it is not God that moved thee, and sent thee here by his Spirit; but lordly Paul, that seeks dominion over our faith: it seems, thou comest not here to preach Christ, and wish us to be followers of him, and of his grace in our hearts; but to mind us to follow Paul's ways, and take

1 Cor. iv. 15, 16, 17.

Dissenting reasonings against church government.

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notice, how he teaches in every church: we are not concerned with him, nor with his messenger, nor with none of your orders; and so forth. Doth not this run very plausible? I question not, but there was such a reasoning among the apostate Corinthians; let such as are of the same kind among us, examine seriously, and measure their spirits truly hereby. Yea, he goes yet further in the following chapter, verse 3, 4. Verse 3. 'As absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already, as though I were present, concerning him that hath so done this deed.' Ver. 4. 'In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ,' &c. Would not one think this to have been a very presumptuous word? And yet who dare offer to condemn it? From all which I shall shortly observe, that it seems, it was judged no inconsistency nor contradiction, to be followers of the grace in themselves, to be persuaded in their own hearts, and also to be followers of the apostle Paul and of his ways; because his ways and example was no other, than the Spirit of God in themselves would have led them to, if they had been obedient. Therefore he found it needful to charge them positively to follow him, without adding this reason.

1 Cor. v. 3——13. The power of giving judgment in the church—

Next, the great argument the apostle uses to persuade them hereunto, upon which he mainly insists, because he had begotten them into the truth; 'ye have not many fathers; for in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the gospel; wherefore I beseech you, be ye followers of me.' So he makes that as the cause; which the same apostle also in his expostulation with the Galations, putting them in mind, how he preached the gospel to them at first, and chap. iv. ver. 15. 'Where is then the blessedness ye spake of? For I bear you record, if possible, ye would

—As of fathers.

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have plucked out your own eyes, and given them unto me.' We see then, that the Lord hath, and doth give such, whom he hath furnished, and sent forth to gather a people unto himself, care and oversight over that people; yea, and a certain authority in the power over them to bring them back to their duty, when they stray at any time; and to appoint, yea, and command such things, as are needful for peace, and order, and unity's sake; and that there lies an obligation upon such, as are so gathered, to reverence, honour, yea, and obey such as are set over them in the Lord. For saith the same apostle, 2 Cor. ii. 9. 'For to this end also did I write, that I might know the proof of you, whether you be obedient in all things.' And ch. vii. v. 13. 15. 'Yea, and exceedingly the more joyed we for the joy of Titus, because his spirit was refreshed by you all.' v. 15. 'And his inward affection is more abundant toward you, whilst he remembereth the obedience of you all, how with fear and trembling ye received him.'

—And overseers,

—To be obeyed.

Betrayings of the enemy.

Now this will not at all infer, as if they had been implicitly led of old; or that such as having the same authority to exercise it now, sought dominion over their brethren's faith, or to force them to do any thing beyond, far less contrary to what the Lord leads us to do by his Spirit; but we know (as they did of old) that the enemy lies near to betray under such pretences. And seeing in case of difference the Lord hath, and doth, and will reveal his will to his people, and hath and doth raise up members of his body, to whom he gives a discerning, and power and authority to instruct, reprove, yea, and command in some cases; those that are faithful and low in their minds, keeping their own places, and minding the Lord, and the interest and good of his truth in the general over all, shut out the murmurer; and the Spirit of God

The murmurer shut out.

1674.

leads them to have unity, and concur with their brethren. But such as are heady and high minded, are inwardly vexed, that any should lead or rule, but themselves; and so it is the high thing in themselves, that makes them quarrel with others for taking so much upon them: pretending a liberty, not sinking down in the seed to be willing to be of no reputation for its sake. Such, rather than give up their own wills, will study to make rents and divisions, not sparing the flock; but prostrating the reputation and honour of the truth even to the world, minister to them an occasion of scorn and laughter, to the hardening them in their wickedness and atheism.

The honour of truth prostrated by divisions.

Besides these Scriptures mentioned, I shall set down a few of many more, that might be instanced to the same purpose.

Ephes. v. 21. 'Submitting yourselves one to another in the fear of God.'

Scriptures for submission and lowliness of mind; and esteem of the brethren.

Phil. ii. 3. 'Let nothing be done through strife or vain glory, but in lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves.'

Verse 29. 'Receive him therefore in the Lord with all gladness, and hold such in reputation.'

And iii. 17. 'Brethren, be followers together of me; and mark them, which walk so, as ye have us for an ensample.'

And iv. 9. 'Those things, which ye have both learned, and received, and heard, and seen in me, do: and the God of peace shall be with you.'

Col. ii. 5. 'For though I be absent in the flesh, yet am I with you in the Spirit, joying and beholding your order, and the steadfastness of your faith in Christ.'

1 Thess. v. 12. 'And we beseech you, brethren, to know them, which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you.'

Verse 13. 'And to esteem them very highly in love, for their works' sake; and be at peace among yourselves.'

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Verse 14. 'Now we exhort you, brethren, warn them that are unruly, comfort the feeble minded, support the weak, be patient toward all men.'

2 Thess. ii. 15. 'Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions, which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle.'

2 Cor. x. 8. 'For though I should boast somewhat more of our authority (which the Lord hath given us for edification, and not for your destruction) I should not be ashamed.'

Now though the Papists greatly abuse this place, as if hereby they could justify that mass of superstition, which they have heaped together; yet except we will deny the plain Scripture, we must needs believe, there lay an obligation upon the Thessalonians to observe and hold these appointments, and no doubt, needful institutions, which by the apostles were recommended unto them: and yet who will say, that they ought or were thereby commanded to do any thing contrary to that which the grace of God in their hearts moved them to?

2 Thess. iii. 4. 'And we have confidence in the Lord touching you, that ye both do, and will do the things, which we command you.'

Verse 6. 'Now we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition, which he received of us.'

The authority of the church, no imposition.

What more positive than this? and yet the apostle was not here any imposer. And yet further, Verse 14. 'And if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed.'

Thus, Heb. xiii. 7. 'Remember them, which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God, whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation.'

Verse xvii. 'Obey them, that have the rule

over you, and submit yourselves; for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account: that they may do it with joy, and not with grief; for that is unprofitable for you.' 1674.

Jude viii. 'Likewise also these filthy dreamers defile the flesh, despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities.'

I might at length enlarge, if needful, upon these passages; any of which is sufficient to prove the matter in hand: but that what is said, may satisfy such, as are not wilfully blind and obstinate. For there can be nothing more plain from these testimonies, than that the ancient apostles and primitive Christians practised order and government in the church; that some did appoint and ordain certain things; condemn, and approve certain practices, as well as doctrines by the Spirit of God: that there lay an obligation in point of duty upon others to obey and submit: that this was no encroachment, nor imposition upon their Christian liberty; nor any ways contradictory to their being inwardly and immediately led by the Spirit of God in their hearts: and lastly, that such as are in the true feeling and sense, will find it their places to obey, and be one with the church of Christ in such like cases: and that it is such, as have lost their sense and feeling of the life of the body, that dissent and are disobedient under the false pretence of liberty; so that thus it is sufficiently proved, what I undertook in this place.

The primitive Christians' order practised in the church.

Thirdly, I judge, there will need no great arguments to prove, the people of God may and do well to exercise the like government upon the very like occasion. For even reason may teach us, that what proved good and wholesome cures to the distemper of the church in former ages, will not now (the very like distempers falling in) prove hurtful and poisonable; especially if we have the testimony of the

Reason III.

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Distempers of the church require a cure now, as of old.

same Spirit in our hearts, not only allowing us, but commanding us so to do. It is manifest (though we are sorry for it) that the same occasions now fall in; we find, that there are that have eaten and drunken with us at the table of the Lord, and have been sharers of the same spiritual joy and consolation, that afterwards fall away. We find, to our great grief, that some walk disorderly, and some are puffed up, and strive to sow division, labouring to stumble the weak, and to cause offences in the church of Christ: what then is more suitable, and more Christian, than to follow the footsteps of the flock, and to labour and travel for the good of the church, and for the removing of all that is hurtful; even as the holy apostles, who walked with Jesus, did before us? If there be such that walk disorderly now; must not they be admonished, rebuked and withdrawn from, as well as of old? Or is such to be the condition of the church in these latter times, that all iniquity must go unreproved? must it be heresy or oppression, to watch over one another in love? to take care for the poor? to see, that there be no corrupt, no defiled members of the body, and carefully and christianly deal with them, for restoring them, if possible? and for withdrawing from them, if incurable? I am persuaded, that there are none, that look upon the commands of Christ and his apostles, the practice and experience of the primitive church and saints, as a sufficient precedent to authorise a practice now, that will deny the lawfulness or usefulness hereof; but must needs acknowledge the necessity of it. But if it be objected, as some have done,

Objection.

do not you deny, that the Scripture is the adequate rule of faith and manners? and that the commands or practices of the Scripture are not a sufficient warrant for you now to do any thing, without you be again authorised, and led unto it

by the same Spirit? and upon that score, do you not forbear some things both practised and commanded by the primitive church and saints? 1674.

Well, I hope, I have not any thing weakened this objection, but presented it in its full vigour and strength; to which I shall clearly and distinctly answer thus:

Times alter the usefulness of things commanded.

First, Seasons and times do not alter the nature and substance of things in themselves; though it may cause things to alter, as to the usefulness, or not usefulness of them.

Secondly, Things commanded and practised at certain times and seasons fall of themselves, when as the cause and ground, for which they were commanded, is removed; as there is no need now for the decision about circumcision, seeing there are none contend for it; neither as to the orders concerning things offered to idols, seeing there is now no such occasion; yet who will say, that the command enjoined in the same place, Acts xv. 20. 'to abstain from fornication,' is now made void? Seeing, there is daily need for its standing in force, because it yet remains as a temptation man is incident to? We confess, indeed, we are against such, as from the bare letter of the Scripture, (though if it were seasonable now to debate it, we find but few to deal with, whose practises are so exactly squared,) seek to uphold customs, forms or shadows, when the use for which they were appointed, is removed, or the substance itself known and witnessed; as we have sufficiently elsewhere answered our opposers in the case of water baptism, and bread, and wine, &c. So that the objection, as to that, doth not hold; and the difference is very wide, in respect of such things; the very nature and substance of which can never be dispensed with by the people of God, so long as they are in this world; yea, without which they could not be his people.

1674. For the doctrines, and fundamental principles of the Christian faith, we own and believe originally and principally, because they are the truths of God; whereunto the Spirit of God in our hearts hath constrained our understandings to obey and submit. In the second place, we are greatly confirmed, strengthened, and comforted in the joint testimony of our brethren, the apostles and disciples of Christ, who by the revelation of the same Spirit in the days of old believed, and have left upon record the same truths; so we having the same spirit of faith, according as it is written, 'I believed, and therefore have I spoken;' we also believe, and therefore we speak. And we deny not, but some, that from the letter have had the notion of these things, have thereby in the mercy of God received occasion to have them revealed in the life; for we freely acknowledge, (though often calumniated to the contrary,) that whatsoever 'things were written aforetime, were written for our learning; that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures may have hope.' So then I hope, if the Spirit of God lead me now unto that which is good, profitable, yea, and absolutely needful, in order to the keeping my conscience clear and void of offence towards God and man; none will be so unreasonable as to say, I ought not to do it, because it is according to the Scriptures. Nor do I think it will favour ill among any serious, solid Christians, for me to be the more confirmed and persuaded, that I am led to this thing by the Spirit, that I find it in myself good and useful; and that upon the like occasions, Christ commanded it, and the apostles and primitive Christians practised and recommended it.

The joint testimony of the apostles, &c. to the truths of God in our hearts.

Now seeing it is so, that we can boldly say with a good conscience in the sight of God, that the same Spirit which leads us to believe the

doctrines and principles of the truth, and to hold and maintain them again, after the apostacy, in their primitive and ancient purity, as they were delivered by the apostles of Christ in the holy Scriptures; I say, that the same Spirit doth now lead us into the like holy order and government to be exercised among us, as it was among them, being now the like occasion and opportunity ministered to us therefore; what can any christianly or rationally object against it? 1674.

For that there is a real cause for it, the thing itself speaketh; and that it was the practice of the saints and church of old, is undeniable. What kind of ground then can any such opposers have (being such, as scrupling at this, do notwithstanding acknowledge our principle) that this were done by imposition or imitation, more than the belief of the doctrines and principles? Seeing as it is needful to use all diligence to convince and persuade people of the truth, and bring them to the belief of it, (which yet we cannot do, but as truth moves and draws in their hearts,) it is also no less needful, when a people is gathered, to keep and preserve them in unity and love, as becomes the church of Christ; and to be careful, as saith the apostle, 'that all things be done decently, and in order;' and that all that is wrong be removed, according to the method of the gospel; and the good cherished and encouraged. So that we conclude, and that upon very good grounds, that there ought now, as well as heretofore, to be order and government in the church of Christ. A real cause for the same order.

That which now cometh to be examined in the third place is, Head III.

First, What is the order and government we plead for? 1.

Secondly, In what cases, and how far it may extend? And in whom the power decisive is? 2.

Thirdly, How it differeth, and is wholly

1674. another than the oppressive and persecuting principality of the church of Rome, and other anti-christian assemblies?

SECTION IV.

Of the Order and Government which we plead for.

It will be needful then, before I proceed to describe the order and government of the church, to consider, what is or may be properly understood by the church; for some (as I touched before) seem to be offended, or at least afraid of the very word, because the 'power of the church, the order of the church, the judgment of the church,' and such like pretences, have been the great weapons, wherewith Anti-christ and the apostate Christians have been these many generations persecuting the woman, and warring against the man-child. And, indeed, great disputes have been among the learned rabbies in the apostacy concerning this church, what it is, or what may be so accounted? Which I find not my place at present to dive much in; but shall only give the true sense of it, according to truth and the Scripture's plain testimony.

What the word *church* signifies properly.

The word *church* in itself, and as used in the Scriptures, is no other but a gathering, company, or assembly of certain people called or gathered together; for so the Greek word Ἐκκλησία signifies, (which is that the translators render *church*,) which word is derived from the verb Ἐκκαλέω, i. e. *evoco*, *I call out of*, from the root Καλέω, *voco*, *I call*. Now though the English word *church* be only taken in such a sense, as people are gathered together upon a religious account; yet the Greek word, that is so render-

ed, is taken in general for every gathering or meeting together of people: and therefore where it is said, the town clerk of the Ephesians dismissed the tumult, that was gathered there together, the same Greek word Ἐκκλησία is used Acts xix. 41. ἀπέλυσε τὰὐ Ἐκκλησίαν, he dismissed, the assembly, or the church. 1674. (*dimisit concionem.*)

A church then in the Scripture phrase is no other, than a meeting or gathering of certain people, which, if it be taken in a religious sense, as most commonly it is, are gathered together in the belief of the same principles, doctrines and points of faith, whereby as a body they become distinguished from others, and have a certain relation among themselves; and a conjunct interest to the mantaining and propagating these principles they judge to be right: and therefore have a certain care and oversight over one another, to prevent and remove all occasions, that may tend to break this their conjunct interest, hinder the propagation of it, or bring infamy, contempt, or contumely upon it; or give such, as on the other hand are or may be banded together to undo them, just occasion against them, to decry and defame them. What a religious church is.

Now the way to distinguish that church, gathering, or assembly of people, whereof Christ truly is the head, from such as falsely pretend thereto, is by considering the principles and grounds upon which they are gathered together, the nature of that hierarchy and order they have among themselves, the way and method they take to uphold it, and the bottom upon which it standeth; which will greatly contribute to clear all mistakes. How to distinguish the true church from the false.

Forasmuch as sanctification and holiness is the great and chief end among true Christians, which moves them to gather together; therefore the apostle Paul defines the church in

1674. his salutation to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. i. 2. 'Unto the church of God which is at Corinth, them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints.' So the church is such as are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints.

The church's care over its members, &c.

The power and authority, order and government we speak of, is such, as a church, meeting, gathering or assembly, claims towards those that have or do declare themselves members, who own, believe and profess the same doctrines and principles of faith with us, and go under the same distinction and denomination; whose escapes, faults and errors may by our adversaries justly be imputed to us, if not seasonably and Christianly reproved, reclaimed or condemned. For we are not so foolish as to concern ourselves with those who are not of us; far less, who stand in opposition to us, so as to reprove, instruct or reclaim them, as fellow-members or brethren: yet with a respect to remove the general reproach from the Christian name, with a tender regard to the good of their immortal souls, for the zeal we owe to God's glory, and for the exaltation and propagation of his everlasting truth and gospel in the earth, we have not been wanting with the hazard of our lives to seek the scattered ones, holding forth the living and sure foundation, and inviting and persuading all to obey the gospel of Christ, and to take notice of his reproofs, as he makes himself manifest in and by his light in their hearts. So our care and travel is and hath been towards those that are without, that we may bring them into the fellowship of the saints in light; and towards those that are brought in, that they may not be led out again, or drawn aside, either to the left hand, or the right, by the workings and temptations of the enemy.

These things being thus cleared and opened,

we do positively affirm, that we being a people gathered together by the power of God (which most if not all of those, that arising among ourselves do oppose us herein, have acknowledged) into the belief of certain principles and doctrines, and also certain principles and performances, by which we are come to be separated and distinguished from others, so as to meet apart, and also to suffer deeply for our joint testimony; there are and must of necessity be, as in the gathering of us, so in the preserving of us while gathered, diversities of gifts and operations for the edifying of the whole body. Hence, saith the apostle, 1 Tim. v. 17. 'Let the elders, that rule well, be counted worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in the word and doctrine:' and this we suppose neither to be popish, nor anti-christian; let our opposers say it, as oft as they can, without reckoning the apostles such. 1674. Diversities of gifts in the church.

Secondly, Forasmuch as all are not called in the same station, some rich, some poor; some servants, some masters, some married, some unmarried; some widows, and some orphans, and so forth; it is not only convenient, but absolutely needful, that there be certain meetings at certain places and times, as may best suit the conveniences of such, who may be most particularly concerned in them; where both those that are to take care, may assemble, and those who may need this care, may come and make known their necessities, and receive help, whether by counsel or supply, according to their respective needs. This doth not at all contradict the principle of being led inwardly and immediately by the Spirit; else how came the apostle in that day of the powerful pouring forth of the Spirit of God to set apart men for this purpose? sure, this was not to lead Meetings about business— —established by the apostle.

1674. them from their inward guide; yea, of the contrary it is expressly said, 'look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business.' Sure, they were not to undertake a business being full of the Holy Ghost, which might import a contradiction to their being led by it: so we see, it is both fit and suitable to the apostle's doctrine, to have meetings about business. Now if any should be so whimsical or conceited, as to scruple their being at set places and times, though these be nothing relative to the essential parts, but only circumstances relating to the conveniency of our persons, which we must have regard to, so long as we are clothed with flesh and blood: and such notionists, as are against this godly care, work far more in their vain imaginations, than they reduce to practice; being like unto such, of whom the apostle James testified, who content themselves with saying to the naked, be clothed; and to the hungry, be fed; while they offer not in the least to minister to them those things, which are needful for clothing and feeding of them, yet shall we not scruple to make it appear, that it is not without very good ground, that we both appoint places and times. And first, as to the place, I say as before, it is with our bodies we must meet, as well as with our spirits; and so of necessity we must convey our bodies unto one place, that we may speak and act in those things we meet for: and that must be in some certain place, where all must know where to find it; having herein a regard to the conveniences and occasions of such as meet. Were it fit, that those of the church of Corinth should go do their business at Antioch, or the church of Jerusalem at Rome? nay, surely, God hath not given us our

Convenient places to meet in—

1674.

reasons to no purpose; but that we should make use of them for his glory, and the good of our brethren; yet always in subjection to his power and Spirit. And therefore we have respect to these things in the appointing of our meetings, and do it not without a regard to the Lord, but in a sense of his fear. And so the like as to times, which is no contradicting of the inward leading of the Spirit. Else how came the apostle to appoint a time to the Corinthians in their contributions, desiring them, 1 Cor. xvi. 2. 'To lay by them in store upon the first day of the week? yea,' saith he, 'not that he gave the same order to the church of Galatia.' I know not, how any in reason can quarrel about set times for outward business, it being done in a subjection to God's will, as all things ought to be; or else how can such, as so do, but quarrel with the apostle for this imposition (at that rate) upon the churches of Corinth and Galatia? We appoint no set times for the performance of the worship of God, so as to appoint men to preach and pray at such and such set times; though we appoint times to 'meet together in the name of the Lord,' that we may feel his presence, and he may move in and through whom he pleaseth without limitation. Which practice of meeting together we are greatly encouraged to by the promise of Christ and our own blessed experience; and also we are severely prohibited to lay it aside by the holy apostle; and also on the other hand by the sad experience of such, as by negligence or prejudice forsake the assemblies of God's people; upon many of which is already fulfilled, and upon others daily fulfilling the judgments threatened upon such transgressors. Read Heb. x. from verse 23, to the end, where that duty is so seriously exhorted to, and the contempt of it reckoned a wilful sin, almost (if not altogether)

—and convenient set times appointed.

Reasons for the continuance of our said practice.

1674. unpardonable; yea, a treading under foot the Son of God, and a doing despite to the Spirit of grace, which is fulfilled in our day, and proves the lamentable fruits of such as have so backslidden among us. And therefore having so much good and real ground for what we do herein, together with the approbation and encouragement of Christ and his apostles, both by command and practice, we can (as that both the Alpha and Omega, the foundation and cap-stone required) faithfully affirm in good conscience, 'that God hath led us by his Spirit, both to appoint places and times, where we may see the faces one of another; and to take care one for another, provoking one another to love and good works.' And our faith and confidence herein cannot be staggered by a mere denial in our opposers, which no man of conscience and reason will say it ought; seeing the thing itself hath such a solid and real cause and foundation, so good and suitable a pattern and example, and that it is constantly confirmed to us, both by the testimony of God's Spirit in our hearts, and by the good fruits and effects which we daily reap thereby, as a seal and confirmation, that God is well pleased therewith, and approveth us in it.

Having thus far proceeded to show, that there ought to be order and government among the people of God; and that that which we plead for, is, that there may be certain meetings set apart for that end; it is next to be considered, in what cases, and how far it may extend.

SECTION V.

In what Cases, and how far this Government extends. And first, as to Outwards and Temporals.

The occasion of those meetings about business.

I shall begin with that which gave the first rise for this order among the apostles; and I

1674.

do verily believe, might have been among the first occasions, that gave the like among us, and that is, the care of the poor, of widows and orphans. Love and compassion are the great, yea, and the chiefest marks of Christianity; hereby shall it be known, saith Christ, 'that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another.' And James the apostle places religion herein in the first place; 'pure religion, (saith he,) and undefiled before God and the Father is, to visit the fatherless and widows in their afflictions,' &c. For this, then, as one main end, do we meet together, that enquiry may be made, if there be any poor of the household of faith, that need, that they may be supplied; that the widows may be taken care of, that the orphans and fatherless may be bred up and educated. Who will be so unchristian, as to reprove this good order and government, and to say it is needless? But if any will thus object, may not the Spirit lead every one of you to give to them that need? What needs meeting about it, and such formalities?

1. To take care for the poor widows and orphans.

I answer, the Spirit of God leads us so to do; what can they say to the contrary? Nor is this a practice any ways inconsistent with being inwardly and immediately led by the Spirit; for the Spirit of God doth now, as well as in the days of old, lead his people into those things which are orderly, and of a good report; for he is the God of order, and not of confusion; and therefore the holy apostles judged it no inconsistency with their being led by the Spirit to appoint men full of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom over the business of the poor. Now if to be full of the Holy Ghost be a qualification needful for this employment; surely the nature of their employment was not to render this so needful a qualification useless and ineffectual, as if they were not to be led by it.

The example of the apostles.

1674. Moreover we see, though they were at that time all filled with the Spirit, yet there was something wanting before this good order was established. There was a murmuring, that some widows were neglected in the daily ministration; and we must not suppose, the apostles went about to remedy this evil, that was creeping into the church, without the counsel of God by his Spirit, or that this remedy they were led to, was stepping into apostacy; neither can it be so said of us, we proceeding upon the like occasion.

Contributions for the poor. If then it be thus needful and suitable to the gospel to relieve the necessities of the poor, that as there was no beggar to be among Israel of old, so far less now; must there not be meetings to appoint contribution, in order to the performing these things? Which is no other, but the giving of a general intimation what the needs are; that every one, as God moves their hearts, and hath prospered them, (without imposition, force or limitation,) may give towards these needful uses. In which case these murmurers at our good order in such matters, may well think strange at the apostle; how pressingly, how earnestly doth he reiterate his desires and provocations, so to speak, in this respect to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. xvi. 2. and the 8th and 9th chapters of the 2d epistle throughout!

Now though he testifies to them elsewhere, that they are the temples of the Holy Ghost, and that the Spirit of God dwells in them; yet ceaseth he not to entreat and exhort, yea, and to give them certain orders in this matter.

Besides all these reasons, which are sufficient to convince any unprejudiced man, the secret approbation of God's Spirit accompanying us in this thing, together with the fruits and effects of it; which hundreds can witness to, whose needs

have been supplied, and themselves helped through divers difficulties; and the testimonies of some already, and of many more orphans and fatherless children, who have found no want neither of father nor mother, or other relations, through the tender love and care of God's people in putting them in trades and employments, and giving them all needful education: which will make it appear, ere this age pass away, to those that have an eye to see, that these are not the mere doings and orders of men; but the work of him who is appearing in ten thousands of his saints, to establish not only truth, but mercy and righteousness in the earth. 1674.

Fatherless children put apprentices.

And for that end therefore, in the second place, this order reacheth the taking up and composing of differences as to outward things, which may fall out betwixt friend and friend; for such things may fall out through the intricacies of divers affairs, where neither hath any positive intention to injure and defraud his neighbour, as in many cases might be instanced. Or if through the workings and temptations of him, whose work is to beset the faithful, and people of the Lord, and to engender (so far as he can) strife and division among them, any should step aside, as to offer to wrong or prejudice his neighbour; we do boldly aver, as a people gathered together by the Lord unto the same faith, and distinguished from all others by our joint testimony and sufferings, that we have power and authority to decide and remove these things among ourselves, without going to others to seek redress. And this in itself hath so much reason, that I cannot tell, if any that are not wholly prejudicate or obstinate, can blame it. For if we be of one mind concerning faith and religion, and that it be our joint interest to bring all others

2. To compose differences in the church in outward matters.

1674. unto the same truth with us, as supposing them to be wrong, what confidence can we have to think of reclaiming them, if the truth we profess have not efficacy, as to reconcile us among ourselves in the matters of this world? if we be forced to go out to others for equity and justice, because we cannot find it among ourselves, how can we expect to invite them to come among us, when such virtues, as which still accompany the truth, are necessarily supposed to be wanting? Should we affirm otherwise, it were to destroy the truth and faith, we have been and are in the Lord's hand building up: and indeed the spirit and practice of such as oppose us herein, hath no less tendency.

Moreover, besides the enforcing and intrinsic reason of this thing, we have the concurrence, approbation and comfort of the apostle's testimony, 1 Cor. vi. 'Dare any of you, having a matter against another, go to law before the unjust, and not before the saints?' If it be objected, do you reckon all unjust that are not of you? Think ye all other people void of justice?

Objection.

Believers not to go to law before the unjust, &c.

I answer, though the apostle useth this expression, I am persuaded, he did not reckon all others unjust, that had not received then the Christian faith. There were, no doubt, moral and just men among the heathen; and therefore the same Paul commends the nobility of Festus. He reckons them there unjust in respect of the saints, or comparatively with them, as such as are not come to the just principle of God in themselves to obey it and follow it: and therefore though he accounts them, who are least esteemed in the church, capable to decide such matters; yet he supposeth it safer to submit to their judgment in such cases, though it were by taking wrong, or suffering wrong, than to go before others to the greater reproach of the truth. We hope, though many

occasions of this kind have fallen in among us, since we have been a people, none have had just occasion to decline our judgment. And though some should suppose themselves to be wronged; yet if they should go bring their matter before others, we might say, as the apostle saith in the fore mentioned chapter, v. 7. This were thereby a fault in them, and would evidence a greater care of some outward concern, than of the honour and interest of truth: and therefore such as have a tender regard that way, would rather suffer, what to their apprehensions may seem wrong. For in matters, wherein two parties are opposite in the case of meum and tuum, it is somewhat hard to please both; except where the power of truth, and the righteous judgment thereof reaching to that of God in the conscience, hath brought to a true acknowledgement him that hath been mistaken, or in the wrong: which hath frequently fallen out among us, to the often refreshing and confirming our souls in the certain belief that Christ was fulfilling his promises among us, in restoring judges, as at the first, and counsellors, as in the beginning. 1674.

The case of meum and tuum.

Now suppose, any should be so pettish, or humorous, as not to agree in such matters to the judgment of his brethren, and to go before the unbelievers (for though I reckon them not such unbelievers, as the heathen of old, because they profess a faith in God and Christ; yet I may safely say, they are unbelievers as to these principles and doctrines which we know are the truth of God; and in that sense must be unbelievers as to him, that so appealeth to them from his brethren,) I say, such as so do, first commit certain hurt, and evil, in staining the honour and reputation of the truth they profess; which ought to be dearer to us than our lives. And even in that outward matter,

Going before unbelievers from the judgment of the brethren, is a dishonour to the truth.

1674. for which they thus do, they run a hazard, not knowing, whether things shall carry, as they expect: if they lose, they have a double prejudice; if they gain, it is a too dear rate, even with the hurt of truth's reputation, which their outward advantage cannot make up. If, then, it be unlawful to do evil, that good may come of it, even a spiritual good; far less is it lawful to do a positive evil of so deep a dye, as to bring an evil report upon the good land, and give the uncircumcised an occasion to rejoice: out of the uncertain hope of an outward gain, it is far better to suffer loss, as the apostle very well argues in the place above mentioned.

Indeed, if there be any such, have been, or appear to be of us, as suppose, there is not a wise man among us all, nor an honest man, that is able to judge betwixt his brethren; we shall not covet to meddle in their matter; being persuaded, that either they, or their cause is nought. Though (praises to God) among all those that have gone from us, either upon one account or other, I never heard, that any were so minded towards us; but the most part of them having let in the offence of some things, or persons, have had this unanimous testimony concerning us, that generally we are an honest and upright-hearted people.

Apostates' testimony concerning us.

But whatever sense our enemies, or apostates have of us, who look asquint on the face of truth, and can see nothing aright in those they love not, or are prejudicate against: this we can say in the last place (besides the reasons and Scripture above declared) that the good fruits and effects, which daily abound to the household of faith, in this, as well as the other parts of the government the Lord is establishing among us, doth more and more commend it unto us; and confirmeth our hearts in the certain belief of that, which we can confidently testify in

good conscience, that God hath led us hereunto by his Spirit: and we see the hand of the Lord herein, which in due time will yet more appear; that as through our faithful testimony, in the hand of the Lord, that antichristian and apostatized generation, the *National Ministry*, hath received a deadly blow by our discovering and witnessing against their forced maintenance, and tythes, against which we have testified by many cruel sufferings of all kinds, as our chronicles shall make known to generations to come, so that their kingdom, in the hearts of thousands, begins to totter and lose its strength, and shall assuredly fall to the ground, through truth's prevailing in the earth; so on the other hand do we, by coming to righteousness and innocency, weaken the strength of their kingdom, who judge for rewards, as well as such as preach for hire, and by not ministering occasions to those, who have heaped up riches, and lived in excess, lust and riot, by feeding and praying upon the iniquities and contentions of the people. For as truth and righteousness prevails in the earth, by our faithful witnessing and keeping to it, the nations shall come to be eased and disburdened of that deceitful tribe of lawyers, (as well as priests) who by their many tricks, and endless intricacies, have rendered justice, in their method, burdensome to honest men, and seek not so much to put an end, as to foment controversies and contentions, that they themselves may be still fed and upheld, and their trade kept up. Whereas by truth's propagation, as many of these controversies will die by men's coming to be less contentious; so when any difference ariseth, the saints giving judgment, without gift or reward, or running into the tricks and endless labyrinths of the lawyers,

1674.

Priests' forced maintenance, and tythes, have received a deadly blow.

Lawyers by tricks and intricacies foment controversies.

1674. will soon compose them. And this is that we are persuaded, the Lord is bringing about in our day, though many do not, and many will not see it; because it is indeed in a way different and contrary to man's wisdom, who are now despising Christ in his inward appearance, because of the meanness of it; as the Jews of old did him in his outward: yet notwithstanding there were some then that did witness, and could not be silent, but must testify that he was come; even so now are there thousands, that can set to their seal, that he hath now again the second time appeared, and is appearing in ten thousands of his saints; in and among whom (as a first fruits of many more that shall be gathered) he is restoring the golden age, and bringing them into the holy order and government of his own Son, who is ruling, and to rule in the midst of them, setting forth the counsellors as at the beginning, and judges as at first; and establishing truth, mercy, righteousness and judgment again in the earth: Amen, Hallelujah!

Christ's restoring the golden age.

3. To take care in the case of marriages.

Thirdly, These meetings take care in the case of marriages, that all things be clear; and that there may be nothing done in that procedure, which afterwards may prove to the prejudice of truth, or of the parties concerned; which being an outward thing (that is, acknowledged in itself to be lawful) of the greatest importance a man, or woman, can perform in this world; and from the sudden, unwary, or disorderly procedure whereof, very great snares and reproaches may be cast upon the parties, and the profession owned by them; therefore it doth very fitly, among other things, when it occurs, come to be considered of by the people of God, when met, to take care to preserve all things right and savoury in the household of faith. We

do believe, our adversaries, that watch for evil against us, would be glad, how promiscuously or disorderly we proceed in this weighty matter; that so they might the more boldly accuse us, as overturners of all humane and Christian order; but God hath not left us without his counsel and wisdom in this thing; nor will he, that any should receive just occasion against us his people; and therefore in this weighty concern, we, who can do nothing against the truth, but all for, and with regard to the truth, have divers testimonies for the Lord. And— 1674.

First, That we cannot marry with those that walk not in, and obey not the truth, as being of another judgment, or fellowship; or pretending to it, walk not suitable and answerable thereto. 1. Our testimony against marrying with unbelievers.

Secondly, Nor can we go to the hireling priests, to uphold their false and usurped authority, who take upon them to marry people without any command, or precedent for it from the law of God. 2. By the priest.

Lastly, Nor can we suffer any such kind of marriages to pass among us, which either as to the degrees of consanguinity, or otherwise, in itself is unlawful, or from which there may be any just reflection cast upon our way. 3. In forbidden degrees.

As to the first two, they being matter of principles received and believed, it is not my work here to debate them; only since they are received and owned as such, (for which we can, and have given our sufficient reasons elsewhere, as for our other principles,) we ought to care, how any, by walking otherwise, bring reproach upon us. Yet not to pass them wholly by, as to the first; besides the testimony of the Spirit of God in our hearts, (which is the original ground of our faith in all things,) we have the testimony of the apostle Paul, 2 Cor. vi. 14. 'Be ye not unequally yoked together,' &c. Now if any should think, it were much from Test. 1. Against unbelievers.

1674. this Scripture to plead it absolutely unlawful in any case, to join in marriage with any, (however otherwise sober,) because of their not being one with us in all things; I shall speak my judgment. To me it appears so; and to many more who have obtained mercy; and we think we have the Spirit of God. But whether it be lawful or not, I can say positively, it is not expedient, neither doth it edify; and (as that which is of dangerous consequence) doth give justly offence to the church of Christ; and therefore no true tender heart will prefer his private love to the good and interest of the whole body.

Test. 2. Against the priests' usurpations. As for the second, in that we deny the priests, their assumed authority and power to marry, it is that which in no wise we can resile from, nor can we own any in the doing of it; it being a part of our testimony against the usurpations of that generation, who never yet, that I ever heard of, could produce any Scripture proof, or example for it. And seeing, none can pretend conscience in the matter, (for they themselves confess, that it is no part of the essence of marriage,) if any pretending to be among us, should through fear, interest, or prejudice to the truth, come under and bow to that image, have we not reason to deny such slavish and ignoble spirits, as mind not truth and its testimony?

Test. 3. Against forbidden degrees of consanguinity and pre-engagements, &c. *Lastly*, Seeing, if any walking with us, or going under the same name, should hastily or disorderly go together, either being within the degrees of consanguinity, which the law of God forbids, or that either party should have been formerly under any tie or obligation to others, or any other vast disproportion, which might bring a just reflection upon us from our opposers; can any blame us for taking care to prevent these evils, by appointing that such as so design, make known their intentions to these churches

or assemblies, where they are most known, that if any know just cause of hindrance, it may be mentioned, and a timous let put to the hurt, either by stopping it, if they can be brought to condescend; or by refusing to be witnesses and concurrers with them in it, if they will not? For we take not upon us to hinder any to marry, otherwise than by advice, or disconcerning ourselves; neither do we judge, that such as do marry contrary to our mind, that therefore their marriage is null and void in itself, or may be dissolved afterwards; nay: all our meddling is in a holy care for the truth. For if the thing be right, all that we do, is to be witnesses; and if otherwise, that we may say for our vindication to such, as may upbraid us therewith, that we advised otherwise, and did no ways concur in the matter: that so they may bear their own burden, and the truth and people of God be cleared. 1674.

What kind of persons cannot bear the good order of truth.

Now I am confident, that our way herein is so answerable to reason and Christianity, that none will blame us therefore; except either such, whose irregular and impatient lusts cannot suffer a serious and Christian examination, and an advised and moderate procedure; or such, who watching for evil against us, are sorry, we should proceed so orderly, and would rather, we should suffer all manner of irregularities and abominations, that they might have the more to say against us. But the solid and real reasons we have for our way herein, will sufficiently plead for us in the hearts of all sober men; and moreover, the testimony of God's Spirit in our hearts doth abundantly confirm us both against the folly of the one, and the envy of the other.

4. Our care for restoring or separating offenders.

Fourthly, There being nothing more needful, than to preserve men and women in righteousness, after they are brought into it; and also nothing

1674. more certain, than that the great enemy of man's soul seeks daily, how he may draw back again, and catch those, who have in some measure escaped his snares, and known deliverance from them; therefore do we also meet together, that we may receive an opportunity to understand, if any have fallen under his temptations, that we may restore them again, if possible; or otherwise separate them from us. Surely, if we did not so, we might be justly blamed as such, among whom it were lawful to commit any evil unreproved; indeed, this were to be guilty of that *libertinism*, which some have falsely accused us of, and which hath been our care all along, as became the people of God, to avoid: therefore we have sought always to keep the house clean, by faithfully reproving and removing, according to the nature of the offence, and the scandal following thereupon; private things privately, and public things publicly. We desire not to propagate hurt, and defile people's minds with telling them such things, as tend not to edify; yet do we not so cover over or smooth over any wickedness, as not to deal roundly with the persons guilty, and causing them to take away the scandal in their acknowledgment before all, to whose knowledge it hath come; yet judge we not ourselves obliged to tell that in Gath, or publish that in the streets of Askelon, which makes the daughters of the uncircumcised rejoice; or strengthen Atheists and Ranters in their obduredness, who feed more upon the failings of the saints, than to imitate their true repentance. And therefore where we find an unfeigning returning to the Lord, we desire not to remember that, which the Lord hath forgotten; nor yet to throw offences in the way of the weak, that they may stumble upon them.

And therefore I conclude, that our care as to

these things also, is most needful, and a part of that order and government, which the church of Christ never was, nor can be without; as doth abundantly appear by divers Scriptures heretofore mentioned. 1674.

SECT. VI.

How far this government doth extend in matters Spiritual, and purely conscientious.

Thus far I have considered the order and government of the church, as it respects outward things; and its authority in condemning or removing such things, which in themselves are evil, as being those, which none will readily justify: the necessity of which things is such, that few but will acknowledge, the care and order in these cases to be commendable and expedient.

Now I come to consider the things of another kind, which either verily are, or are supposed to be matters of conscience, or at least, wherein people may lay claim to conscience in the acting or forbearing of them. In which the great question is, how far, in such cases, the church may give positive orders, or rules? How far her authority reacheth, or may be supposed to be binding, and ought to be submitted to? For the better clearing and examination of which, it will be fit to consider,

First, Whether the church of Christ have power in any cases, that are matters of conscience, to give a positive sentence and decision, which may be obligatory upon believers? Quest. I.

Secondly, If so, in what cases and respects she may so do? Quest. II.

Thirdly, Wherein consists the freedom and liberty of conscience, which may be exercised Quest. III.

1674. by the members of the true church diversly, without judging one another?

Quest. IV. And lastly, In whom the power decisive is, in case of controversy or contention in such matters?—Which will also lead us to observe the vast difference betwixt us and the papists, and others in this particular.

Quest. I. As to the first, whether the church of Christ have power in any cases, that are matters of conscience, to give a positive sentence and decision which may be obligatory upon believers—

Answ. I answer affirmatively, she hath; and shall prove it from divers instances, both from Scripture and reason. For first, all principles and articles of Faith, which are held doctrinally, are in respect to those that believe them, matters of conscience. We know, the papists do out of conscience, (such as are zealous among them) adore, worship and pray to angels, saints and images, yea, and to the eucharist, as judging it to be really Christ Jesus; and so do others place conscience in things that are absolutely wrong; now I say, we being gathered together into the belief of certain principles and doctrines, without any constraint or worldly respect, but by the mere force of truth upon our understanding, and its power and influence upon our hearts; these principles and doctrines, and the practices necessarily depending upon them are, as it were, the terms, that have drawn us together, and the *bond, by which we became centered into one body and fellowship, and dis-

Articles of faith are matters of conscience.

1. Proof from right reason.

* Yet this is not so the bond, but that we have also a more inward and invisible, to wit, the life of righteousness, whereby we also have unity with the upright seed in all, even in those, whose understandings are not yet so enlightened. But to those, who are once enlightened, this is as an outward bond; and if they suffer themselves to be darkened through disobedience, which as it does in the outward bond, so it doth in the inward.

tinguished from others. Now if any one or more so engaged with us should arise to teach any other doctrine or doctrines, contrary to these, which were the ground of our being one; who can deny, but the body hath power in such a case to declare, this is not according to the truth we profess; and therefore we pronounce such and such doctrines to be wrong, with which we cannot have unity, nor yet any more spiritual fellowship with those that hold them? And so such cut themselves off from being members by dissolving the very bond, by which they were linked to the body. Now this cannot be accounted tyranny and oppression, no more than in a civil society, if one of the society shall contradict one or more of the fundamental articles, upon which the society was contracted, it can be reckoned a breach or iniquity in the whole society to declare, that such contradictors have done wrong, and forfeited their right in that society; in case by the original constitution the nature of the contradiction implies such a forfeiture, as usually it is; and will no doubt hold in religious matters. As if a body be gathered into one fellowship by the belief of certain principles, he that comes to believe otherways, naturally scattereth himself; for that the cause, that gathered him, is taken away: and so those, that abide constant, in declaring the thing to be so as it is, and in looking upon him and witnessing of him to others (if need be) to be such, as he has made himself, do him no injury. I shall make the supposition in the general, and let every people make the application to themselves, abstracting from us; and then let conscience and reason in every impartial reader declare, whether or not it doth not hold? Suppose a people really gathered unto the belief of the true and certain principles of the Gospel, if any of these people shall arise and contradict any

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The disbeliever of the principles of a fellowship excludes himself therefrom and scatters.

1674. of those fundamental truths, whether has not such as stand, good right to cast such a one out from among them, and to pronounce positively, This is contrary to the truth we profess and own; and therefore ought to be rejected, and not received, nor yet he that asserts it, as one of us? And is not this obligatory upon all the members, seeing all are concerned in the like care, as to themselves, to hold the right, and shut out the wrong? I cannot tell, if any man of reason can well deny this? However I shall prove it next from the testimony of the Scripture.

2. Proof from scripture. Gal. 1. 8. But though we, or an angel from Heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. As we said before, so say I now again, if any man preach any other gospel unto you, than that ye have received, let him be accursed.

1 Tim. 1. 19, 20. Holding faith and a good conscience, which some having put away, concerning faith have made shipwreck. Of whom is Hymenæus and Alexander, whom I have delivered unto satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme.

2 John, 10. If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him rejoice. (For so the Greek hath it.)

These Scriptures are so plain and clear in themselves as to this purpose, that they need no great exposition to the unbiassed and unprejudicate reader. For seeing it is so, that in the true church there may men arise, and speak perverse things contrary to the doctrine and gospel already received; what is to be the place of those, that hold the pure and ancient truth? Must they look upon these perverse men still, as their brethren? Must they cherish them as fellow-members, or must they judge, condemn and deny them? We must not think, the apostle wanted

charity, who will have them accursed; and that gave Hymenæus and Alexander over to satan, after that they had departed from the true faith, that they might learn not to blaspheme. In short, if we must (as our opposers herein acknowledge) preserve and keep those that are come to own the truth, by the same means they were gathered and brought into it; we must not cease to be plain with them, and tell them, when they are wrong; and by sound doctrine both exhort and convince gain-sayers. If the apostles of Christ of old, and the preachers of the everlasting gospel in this day had told all people, however wrong they found them in their faith and principles, our charity and love is such, we dare not judge you, nor separate from you; but let us all live in love together, and every one enjoy his own opinion, and all will be well: how should the nations have been? Or what way now can they be brought to truth and righteousness? Would not the devil love this doctrine well, by which darkness and ignorance, error and confusion, might still continue in the earth unreproved and uncondemned? If it was needful then for the apostles of Christ in the days of old to reprove, without sparing to tell the high-priests and great professors among the Jews, that they were stubborn and stiff-necked, and always resisted the Holy Ghost, without being guilty of imposition and oppression, or want of true love and charity; and also for those messengers the Lord raised up in this day, to reprove and cry out against the hireling priests, and to tell the world openly, both professors and profane, that they were in darkness and ignorance, out of the truth, strangers and aliens from the commonwealth of Israel; if God has gathered a people by this means into the belief of one and the same truth, must not they, if they turn and depart from it, be admonished, reproved and

1674.

Hymenæus and Alexander instanced.

A wrong charity & false love to cherish in error—is

1674. condemned (yea, rather than those, that are not yet come to the truth) because they crucify afresh unto themselves the Lord of Glory, and put him to open shame? It seems, the apostle judged it very needful, they should be so dealt with, Tit. 1. 10, when he says, 'there are many unruly and vain talkers and deceivers, especially they of the circumcision, whose mouths must be stopped,' &c. Were such a principle to be received or believed, that in the church of Christ no man should be separated from, no man condemned or excluded the fellowship and communion of the body, for his judgment or opinion in matter of faith, then what blasphemies so horrid, what heresies so damnable, what doctrines of devils, but might harbour itself in the church of Christ? What need then of sound doctrine, if no doctrine make unsound? What need of convincing and exhorting gainsayers, if to gainsay be no crime? Where should the unity of the faith be? Were not this an inlet to all manner of abomination? And to make void the whole tendency of Christ and his apostles' doctrine? And render the gospel of none effect? And give a liberty to the inconstant and giddy will of man to innovate, alter and overturn it at his pleasure? So that from all that is above-mentioned, we do safely conclude, that where a people are gathered together into the belief of the principles and doctrines of the gospel of Christ, if any of that people shall go from their principles, and assert things false and contrary to what they have already received; such as stand and abide firm in the faith, have power by the Spirit of God, after they have used Christian endeavours to convince and reclaim them, upon their obstinacy to separate from such, and to exclude them from their spiritual fellowship and communion: for otherways if this be denied, farewell to all Chris-

—The inlet of all manner of abominations.

tianity, or to the maintaining of any sound doctrine in the church of Christ. 1674.

Quest. II. But secondly, taking it for granted, that the church of Christ or assembly of believers may in some cases, that are matters of conscience, pronounce a positive sentence and judgment without hazard of imposition upon the members, it comes to be inquired, in what cases, and how far this power reacheth?

Answer. I answer, first, As that which is most clear and undeniable; in the fundamental principles and doctrines of faith, in case any should offer to teach otherwise, as is above declared and proved. But some may perhaps acknowledge that indeed, if any should contradict the known and owned principles of truth, and teach otherwise, it were fit to cast out and exclude such; but what judgest thou as to lesser matters, as in principles of less consequence, or in outward ceremonies or gestures, whether it be fit to press uniformity in these things? For answer to this, it is fit to consider:

Consideration 1. First, The nature of the things themselves.

2. Secondly, The spirit and ground they proceed from.

3. And thirdly, The consequence and tendency of them.

But before I proceed upon these, I affirm, and that according to truth, that as the church and assembly of God's people may and hath power to decide by the Spirit of God in matters fundamental and weighty (without which no decision nor decree in whatever matters is available) so the same church and assembly also in other matters of less moments, as to themselves (yet being needful and expedient with a respect to the circumstance of time place and other things that may fall in) may and hath power by the same Spirit, and not otherwise, being acted, moved and assisted, and

The decision of matters of less moment in the church obligatory.

1674. led by it thereto, to pronounce a positive judgment: which, no doubt, will be found obligatory upon all such, who have a sense and feeling of the mind of the Spirit; though rejected by such, as are not watchful, and so are out of the feeling and unity of the life. And this is that, which none that own immediate revelation, or a being inwardly led by the Spirit, to be now a thing expected or dispensed to the saints, can without contradicting their own principle deny; far less such, with whom I have to do in this matter, who claiming this privilege to particulars, saying, 'that they being moved to do such and such things, though contrary to the mind and sense of their brethren, are not to be judged for it;' adding, 'why may it not be so, that God hath moved them to it?' Now if this be a sufficient reason for them to suppose as to one or two, I may without absurdity suppose it as well to the whole body. And therefore as to the first, to wit,

Cons. 1 The nature of the things themselves. If it be such a thing, the doing or not doing whereof, that is either any act, or the forbearance of any, may bring a real reproach or ground of accusation against the truth professed and owned, and in and through which there may a visible schism and dissension arise in the church, by which truth's enemies may be gratified, and itself brought into disesteem: then it is fit for such, whose care is to keep all right, to take inspection in the matter, to meet together in the fear of God, to wait for his counsel, and to speak forth his mind, according as he shall manifest himself in and among them. And this was the practice of the primitive church in the matter of circumcision. For here lay the debate: some thought it not needful to circumcise the gentiles; others thought it a thing not to be dispensed with: and no doubt, of these (for we

Against the reproach of truth.

must remember, they were not the rebellious Jews, but such as had already believed in Christ) there were, that did it out of conscience, as judging circumcision to be still obligatory. For they said thus; except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved. Now what course took the church of Antioch in these cases? Acts 15. 2. They determined that Paul and Barnabas, and certain other of them should go unto Jerusalem, unto the apostles and elders about this question. We must not suppose, they wanted the Spirit of God at Antioch, to have decided the matter, neither that these apostles neglected or went from their inward Guide in undertaking this journey; yet we see, they judged it meet in this matter to have the advice and concurrence of the apostles and elders, that were at Jerusalem, that they might be all of one mind in the matter. For there is no greater property of the church of Christ, than pure unity in the Spirit, that is, a consenting and oneness in judgment and practices in matters of faith and worship (which yet admits of different measures, growths and motions, but never contrary and contradictory ones; and in these diversities of operations, yet still by the same Spirit, the true liberty is exercised, as shall be declared hereafter:) therefore prayeth Christ, that they all may be one, as he and the Father is one. To which purpose also let these following scriptures be examined:

1674.

The church at Antioch sends a case to Jerusalem for advice from the elders.

Rom. 12. 16. Be of the same mind one towards another.

1 Cor. 1. 10. Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment.

1674. Ephes. 5. 21. Submitting yourselves one to another in the fear of God.

Phil. 2. 2. Fulfil ye my joy, that ye be like-minded, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind.

And yet more remarkable is that of the apostle Paul to the Philippians, chapter 3. verse 15. Let us therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded; and if in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you.

Ver. 16. Nevertheless, whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same things.

Ver. 17. Brethren, be followers together of me, and mark them which walk so, as ye have us for an example.

Pretenders and innovators judged by the power of God.

So here, though the apostle grants forbearance in things, wherein they have not yet attained; yet he concludes, they must walk so, as they have him for an example, and so consequently not contrary, or otherwise. And therefore we conclude, that whereas any in the church of God pretending conscience or revelation, shall arise to teach and practise (however insignificant or small in themselves) whether principles or practices, yet if they be contrary to such as are already received as true, and confirmed by God's Spirit in the hearts of the saints, and that the introducing of these things tend to bring reproach upon the truth, as such, as are not edifying in themselves, and so stumble the weak; those who have a true and right discerning, may in and by the power of God authorizing them (and no otherwise) condemn and judge such things: and they so doing it, it will be obligatory upon all the members, that have a true sense, because they will feel it to be so, and therefore submit to it. And thus far as to the nature of the things themselves.

1674.

Cons. 2.

What proceeds not from the Spirit of God, to be withstood and denied.

Secondly, As to the Spirit and ground they proceed from. Whatsoever innovation, difference or diverse appearance, whether in doctrine or practice, proceedeth not from the pure moving of the Spirit of God, or is not done out of pure tenderness of conscience, but either from that, which being puffed up, affecteth singularity, and thereby through would be observed, commended and exalted; or from that, which is the malignity of some humours and natural tempers, which will be contradicting without cause, and secretly begetting of divisions, animosities and emulations, by which the unity and unfeigned love of the brethren is lessened or rent; I say, all things proceeding from this root and spirit, however little they may be supposed to be of themselves, are to be guarded against, withstood and denied, as hurtful to the true church's peace, and a hindrance to the prosperity of truth.

Quest.

If it be said, how know ye that these things proceed from that ground?

Answ.

For answer, I make not here any application as to particular persons or things; but if it be granted (as it cannot be denied) that there may arise persons in the true church, that may do such things from such a spirit, though pretending conscience and tenderness; then it must also be acknowledged, that such, to whom God hath given a true discerning by his Spirit, may and ought to judge such practices, and the spirit they come from, and have no unity with them, which if it be owned in the general, proves the case, to wit, that some pretending conscience in things seeming indifferent, but yet it proceeding in them from a spirit of singularity, emulation or strife, those that have received a discerning thereof from the Lord, may and ought to judge the transgressors, without being accounted imposers, oppressors of conscience, or

The Spirit of discerning in the church judges transgressors.

1674. inforcers of uniformity, contrary to the mind of Christ: against which the apostle also guardeth the churches of old.

Phil. 2. 3, 4. Let nothing be done through strife or vain glory; but in lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves.

Look not every man on his own things; but every man also on the things of others.

Now, if it be an evil to do any thing out of strife; then such things that are seen so to be done, are they not to be avoided and forsaken? So that we are confident, our judgment herein cannot be denied, or reputed erroneous; except it be said that none will or can arise in the church of Christ, pretending such things from such a spirit: which I know not any that will, it being contrary to the express prophesies of the Scripture, and the experience of the church in all ages, as may appear from Mat. 24. 24. Acts 15. 54. 1 Tim. 4, 5. 2 Tim. 3. 8. Mark 13. 21, 22. 2 Pet. 2. 19. Or on the other hand, that those that abide faithful, and have a discerning of those evils, ought to be silent, and never ought to reprove and gain-stand them, nor yet warn and guard others against them; and that it is a part of the commendable unity of the church of Christ, to suffer all such things without taking notice of them. I know none will say so; but if there be any so foolish, as to affirm it, let them consider these Scriptures, Gal. 2. 4. 1 Tim. 1. 20. 2 Tim. 2. 24, 25. Tit. 1. 9, 10, 11.

Pretenders may arise, and must be watched against.

Discerners of evils to reprove & warn—

Now if none of these hold true; but on the contrary, such evils have been, and may be found to creep in among the people of God, and that such as see them, may and ought to reprove them; then necessarily the doing so, is neither imposition, force nor oppression.

1674.

Cons. 3.

As to the third, concerning the consequence and tendency of them, it is mostly included in the two former: for whatsoever tendeth not to edification; but on the contrary to destruction, and to beget discord among brethren, is to be avoided: according to that of the Apostle, Rom. 16. 17. Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them, which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them.

Sowers of discord among brethren to be avoided.

And since there is no greater mark of the people of God, than to be at peace among themselves; whatsoever tendeth to break that bond of love and peace, must be testified against. Let it be observed, I speak always of the church of Christ indeed, and deal with such, as are of another mind: not as reckoning only false churches not to have this power, but denying it even to the true church of Christ, as judging it not fit for her so to act, as in relation to her members. For though Christ be the Prince of Peace, and doth most of all commend love and unity to his disciples; yet I also know, he came not to send peace, but a sword, that is, in dividing man from the lusts and sins he hath been united to. And also it is the work of his disciples and messengers to break the bands and unity of the wicked, wherein they are banded against God and his truth, and the confederacy of such as stand in unrighteousness, by inviting and bringing as many as will obey, unto righteousness; whereby they become disunited and separated from their companions, with whom they were centered, and at peace in the contrary and cursed nature. And indeed, blessed are they, that are sent forth of the Lord to scatter here, that they may gather into the unity of the life: and they are blessed, that in this respect, even for righteousness sake are scattered and separated

—To follow peace among ourselves.

—To the breaking of the bands of the wicked.

Prov. 20. 26.

1674. from their brethren; that they may come to know the brotherhood and fellowship which is in the light; from which none ought to scatter, nor to be scattered, but be more and more gathered thereunto. And this leads me to what I proposed in the third place under this head of the true church's power in matters spiritual, or purely conscientious; which may be thus objected:

Quest. 3. If thou plead so much for an oneness in the smallest matters, wherein consisteth the freedom and liberty of the conscience, which may be exercised by the members of the true church diversely, without judging one another?

Answer. In answer to this proposition, I affirm, first in general; that whatsoever things may be supposed to proceed from the same Spirit, though divers in its appearance, tending to the same end of edification, and which in the tendency of it layeth not a real ground for division or dissention of spirit, fellow members ought not only to bear one another, but strengthen one another in them.

Now the respects wherein this may be, I can describe no better than the apostle Paul doth principally in two places, which therefore will be fit to consider at length for the opening of this matter; this being one of the weightiest points pertaining to this subject. Because as on the one hand due forbearance ought to be exercised in its right place; so on the other, the many devises and false pretences of the enemy creeping in here, ought to be guarded against.

Place 1. The first is, 1 Cor. 12, from verse 4 to 31, thus:

Diversities of gifts, administrations and operations from the same Spirit makes no division. Verse 4. Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit.

Verse 5. And there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord.

1674.

Verse 6. And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all.

Verse 7. But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal.

Verse 8. For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowlege by the same Spirit;

Verse 9. To another faith by the same Spirit, to another the gifts of healing by the same Spirit.

Verse 10. To another the working of miracles, to another prophecy, to another discerning of spirits, to another divers kinds of tongues, to another the interpretation of tongues.

Verse 11. But all these worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally, as he will.

As many members in one body concur to the upholding the same.

Verse 12. For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body being many, are one body, so also is Christ.

Verse 13. For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one spirit.

Verse 14. For the body is not one member, but many.

Verse 15. If the foot shall say, because I am not the hand, I am not of the body; is it therefore not of the body?

Verse 16. And if the ear shall say, because I am not the eye, I am not of the body; is it not therefore of the body?

Verse 17. If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were the smelling?

Verse 18. But now hath God set the members every one of them in the body, as it hath pleased him.

Verse 19. And if they were all one member, where were the body?

1674. Verse 20. But now are they many members, yet but one body?

Verse 21. And the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee; nor again, the head to the feet, I have no need of you:

Verse 22. Nay, much more those members of the body, which seem to be more feeble, are necessary:

Verse 23. And those members of the body, which we think to be less honourable, upon these we bestow more abundant honour, and our uncomely parts have more abundant comeliness.

Verse 24. For our comely parts have no need, but God hath tempered the body together, having given more abundant honour to that part which lacked:

Verse 25. That there should be no schism in the body; but that the members should have the same care one of another.

Verse 26. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it.

Verse 27. Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular:

Verse 28. And God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healing, helps, governments, diversities of tongues.

Verse 29. Are all apostles? Are all prophets? Are all teachers? Are all workers of miracles?

Verse 30. Have all the gifts of healing? Do all speak with tongues? Do all interpret?

Which I would not have set down at large, but that there be some so careless (especially in matters they like not) that they will scarce be at the pains seriously to read over a citation only named; and that also this being presented before the reader in the current of the discourse, will fix the nature of my application the more in his understanding. For the apostle shows

here the variety of the operations of the divers members of the body of Christ, working to one and the same end; as the divers members of a man's body towards the maintaining and upholding of the whole. 1674

The sum of the premises.

Now these are not placed in contrary workings, for so they would destroy one another; and so the apostle in the ordering of them in three several kinds proves this. First, diversities of gifts. Secondly, differences of administrations. Thirdly, diversities of operations: and that which is the bond that keeps the oneness, here he also mentions, to wit, 'the same Spirit, the same Lord, the same God:' the apostle names nothing of contrariety or opposition. But lest any should be so critical, as to bring in here the school distinction of *contrarium oppositum* and *contradictorium;* I shall not deny, but contrariety or opposition, in the sense it is sometimes taken, may be found in the body without schism: as the comely parts may be said to be opposite or contrary to the uncomely, or the left hand contrary to the right, or the foot opposite to the head, as the uppermost part to the undermost; or the doing a thing is contrary to the forbearing of it; but as for that which is acknowledged to be propositions or *termini contradictorii*, that is, contradictory propositions, which are in themselves irreconcilable, whereof one must be still wrong, and that still destroy one another, and work contrary effects, they are not at all admitted, nor supposed to be in the body of Christ; as I shall give in one instance, verse 8. 'To one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit:' *First*, here are two different gifts, but not contrary. *Secondly*, there may something like contrariety in the sense afore mentioned, be here supposed; as, some may want this gift of wisdom and know-

No contrariety in the body of Christ.

Instances.

1.

2.

1674. ledge, and so to have is contrary to want (though as to these two, none may be absolutely said to want them; yet all have them not in the same degree, as a special gift; though as to some gifts there may be an absolute want, as that of miracles and interpretation of tongues.) But should I suppose such a contrariety, or more properly a contradiction, as to wisdom to oppose folly, and to knowledge utter ignorance; this were an opposition not to be admitted of in the body, because it were false to suppose, that to proceed from the same Spirit. And such contrarieties or diversities, as cannot justly be supposed to proceed from the same Spirit of God, which is the bond that links together, cannot be mutually entertained in the body. So the differences and diversities, which the apostle admits of, while he speaks largely in this matter, are, that none ought to be offended at his brother, that he hath not the same work and office in the body, that he hath; but that every one keep in his own place, as God hath appointed them; that neither them that are set in a higher place, despise them that are set in a lower; nor them that are set in a lower, grudge and repine at such as are set higher: but all work in their proper place towards the edification of the whole. And that the apostle intends this, is manifest, where he draws to a conclusion, verse 27. 'Now ye are the body of Christ and members in particular, and God hath set some in the church, first, apostles, secondly, prophets, &c. and then he subsumes, are all apostles? &c.

Diversities of works and operations in the body.

Place 2. Which the same *Paul* again confirms, Eph. i. 8, 11. to the 17th, which was the second place I intended; and shall only mention for brevity's sake, leaving the reader to consider of it at his leisure.

This is also held forth by the beloved disciple John in his threefold distinction, 1 *John* ii. 12, 13.

of fathers, young men, and little children: and by Peter, 1 Pet. v. 1. 5, in that of elders and younger. The true liberty then in the church of Christ is exercised, when as one judgeth not another in these different places; but live in love together, all minding the unity and general good of the body, and to work their own work in their own place. Also the forbearance of the saints is exercised, when as they judge not one another for being found in the different appearance either of doing or forbearing; which may be peculiar to their several places and stations in the body: for that there is and may be diversities of works there, is excellently well expressed by the apostle, viz. 1674.

The true liberty in the church.

Diversities of works expressed by the apostle.

Rom. xii. 3. For I say through the grace given unto me, to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think; but to think soberly, according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith.

Verse 4. For as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office;

Verse 5. So we being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another.

Verse 6. Having then gifts differing, according to the grace that is given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith:

Verse 7. Or ministry, let us wait on our ministering; or he that teacheth, on teaching:

Verse 8. Or he that exhorteth, on exhortation: he that giveth, let him do it with simplicity: he that ruleth, with diligence: he that showeth mercy, with cheerfulness.

If any then should quarrel with his brother, for exercising that which belongeth to the office of the body Christ hath called him to, and would force him to exercise the same office he doth, though he be not called to it; here is a

1674. breach of Christian liberty, and an imposing upon it. Now all schisms and jars fall out in this twofold respect: either when any person or persons assume another or an higher place in the body, than God will have them to be in, and so exercise an office; or go about to perform that which they ought not to do; or when as any truly exercising in their place, which God hath given them, others rise up and judge them, and would draw them from it: both of which cases have been, and may be supposed to fall out in the church of Christ. As 1 Cor. iv. 3, 4, where some judged Paul wrongously: 3 John 9, where one exalting himself above his place, judged, whom he ought not. We see, then, what diversities be most usually in the church of God, consisting in the difference of the gift proceeding from the same spirit; and in the divers places, that the several members have in the same body for the edification of it; and every one being here in his own station, his standing therein is his strength and perfection; and to be in another, though higher and more eminent, would but weaken and hurt him: and so in this there ought to be a mutual forbearance, that there may neither be a coveting nor aspiring on the one hand, nor yet a despising or condemning on the other. But besides the forbearance of this nature, which is most ordinary and universal, (and for the exercise whereof there is and will still be a need, so long as there is any gathering or church of Christ upon the earth) there is a certain liberty and forbearance also, that is more particular, and has a relation to the circumstance of times and places, which will not hold universally: whereof we have the example of the primitive church, testified by the Scriptures in two or three particulars. The first was, in suffering circumcision to the Jews for a time, and not only so,

The breach of liberty begets jars and schisms.

Acts of forbearance in the primitive church.

but also divers others of the legal and ceremonial purifications and customs, as may appear Acts xxi. ver. 21, 22, 23, 24, &c. The second was in the observation of certain days, Rom. xiv. 5. And the third, in the abstaining from meats, 1 Cor. viii. throughout: here the apostle persuades to and recommends a forbearance, because of the weakness of some; for he says not any where, nor can it be found in all the Scriptures of the Gospel, that these things such weak ones were exercised in, were things indispensably necessary, or that it had been better for them, they had not been under such scruples, providing it had been from a principle of true clearness, and so of faith. 1674.

Next again, these acts of forbearance were done in a condescension to the weakness of such, upon whom the ancient (and truly deserved in its season) veneration of the law had such a deep impression, that they could not yet dispense with all its ceremonies and customs: and to such the apostle holds forth a twofold forbearance. Acts of forbearance or condescension under the law.

First, a certain compliance by such believers, as were gathered out from the Jews: though they saw over these things, yet it was fit they should condescend somewhat to their countrymen and brethren, who were weak. 1 To Jews.

Secondly, the like forbearance in the Gentiles, not to judge them in these things: but we see, that it was not allowed for such weak ones to propagate these scruples, or draw others into them; and that when as any of the churches of the Gentiles, who wanted this occasion, would have been exercising this liberty, or pleading for it, the apostle doth down-rightly condemn it, as I shall make appear in all the three instances above mentioned. 2 To Gentiles.

First, in that of circumcision, Gal. v. 2. 4. Inst. 1. Of circumcision.

1674. 'Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing; Christ is become of none effect unto you: whosoever of you are justified by the law, ye are fallen from grace.'

Can there be any thing more positive? Might not some here have pretended tenderness of conscience, and have said, though the decree of the apostles do dispense with circumcision in me; yet if I find a scruple in myself, and a desire to it out of tenderness, why should it be an evil in me to do it, more than in the Jews that believe? We see, there is no room left here for such reasoning.

Inst. 2. Of observations of days. Secondly, as to observations, Gal. iv. 9, 10, 11. Might not they have answered, what if we regard a day to the Lord, must we not then? Are not these thy own words? We see, that did not hold here, because in them it was a returning to the beggarly elements.

Inst. 3. Of meats. Thirdly, as to meats, 1 Tim. iv. 3. Here we see, that is accounted a doctrine of devils; which in another respect was Christian forbearance. And therefore now, and that in the general respect, he gives this reason, verse 4. 'For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving of them that believe, and know the truth.' So we see, that in these particular things there is a great need of wariness in the church of Christ; for that sometimes forbearance under a pretence of liberty may be more hurtful, than down-right judging. I suppose, if any should arise, and pretend conscience, and claim a liberty for circumcision and the purification of the law, whether all Christians would not with one voice condemn it? And so as to days and meats, how do the generality of Protestants judge it? Though I deny not, but there may and ought to be a mutual

forbearance in the church of Christ in certain such cases, which may fall in; and a liberty there is in the Lord, which breaks not the peace of the true church: but in such matters (as I observed at large before) both the nature of the things, the spirit they come from, and the occasion from whence, and their consequence and tendency is to be carefully observed. 1674.

SECT. VII.

Concerning the Power of Decision.

Seeing then, it may fall out in the church of Christ, that both some may assume another place in the body than they ought, and others may lay claim to a liberty, and pretend conscience in things they ought not, and that without question the wrong is not to be tolerated, but to be testified against, however specious its appearance may be; and that it must and ought to be judged: the question will arise, Who is the proper judge or judges, in whom resideth the power of deciding this controversy? and this is that, which I undertook in the next place to treat of, as being the specific difference, and distinguishing property of the church of Christ from all other antichristian assemblies and churches of man's building and framing. Head III. Proposition. 2.

To give a short, and yet clear and plain answer to this proposition: the only proper judge of controversies in the church, is the Spirit of God, and the power of deciding solely lies in it; as having the only unerring, infallible and certain judgment belonging to it: which infallibility is not necessarily annexed to any persons, person, or places whatsoever, by virtue of any office, place, or station any one may have, or have had in the The Spirit of God the proper judge of controversies in the church.

1674. body of Christ. That is to say, that any have ground to reason thus, because I am or have been such an eminent member, therefore my judgment is infallible; or, because we are the greatest number; or, that we live in such a noted or famous place, or the like: though some of these reasons may and ought to have their true weight in case of contradictory assertions, (as shall hereafter be observed,) yet not so, as upon which either mainly or only the infallible judgment is to be placed; but upon the Spirit, as that which is the firm and unmoveable foundation.

And now, if I should go on no further, I have said enough to vindicate us from imposition, and from the tyranny, whether of popery, prelacy, or presbytery, or any such like we have or may be branded with; as shall after appear.

But to proceed: herein lies the difference betwixt the dispensation of the law, and the Gospel or new covenant; for that of old all answers were to be received from the priests in the tabernacle. For he, that appeared betwixt the cherubims there, spake forth his mind to the people; and there were also families of the prophets, to whom they resorted for the answers of the Lord (though sometimes as a signification of the further glory, that was to be revealed, it pleased God to reveal his mind to some, even to them, who were neither prophets nor prophets' sons); but under the gospel, we are all to be taught of God, that is, none are excluded from his privilege by not being of the tribe of Levi, or of the children of the prophets: though this privilege is as truly exercised in some by assenting and obeying, to what God commands and reveals through others, (they feeling unity with it in the life,) as by such, who by the revelation and command of God's Spirit hold forth his will to his people in certain particulars,

Exo. xxv. 22.
Numb. vii. 89.
Hos. xii. 10.
Amos vii. 14.
2 Chron. xviii. 6. 7.
John vi. 45.
Heb. i. 1, 2

which the same Spirit leads and commands them to obey. So that we say, and that with a very good ground, that it is no way inconsistent with this sound and unerring principle, to affirm, that the judgment of a certain person or persons in certain cases is infallible, or for a certain person or persons to give a positive judgment, and pronounce it as obligatory upon others, because the foundations and ground thereof is not because they are infallible, but because in these things, and at that time, they were led by the infallible Spirit. And therefore it will not shelter any in this respect to pretend, I am not bound to obey the dictates of fallible man: is not this popery, I not being persuaded in myself? Because it is not to be disobedient to them, but to the judgment of truth through them at such a time; and one or more there not being persuaded, may as probably proceed from their being hardened, and being out of their place, and in an incapacity to hear the requirings, as that the thing is not required of them; which none can deny, but it may as well be supposed, as the contrary. But for the further clearing of this matter, before I conclude, I shall not doubt both to affirm and prove these following propositions. 1674.

Judgment infallible proceeds from the Spirit infallible

First, that there never will, nor can be wanting, in case of controversy, the Spirit of God to give judgment through some or other in the church of Christ, so long as any assembly can properly, or in any tolerable supposition be so termed. Assert. 1.

Secondly, That God hath ordinarily, in the communicating of his will under his gospel, employed such, whom he had made use of in gathering of his church, and in feeding and watching over them; though not excluding others. Assert. 2.

Thirdly, that their *de facto*, or effectual meeting together, and giving a positive judgment in Assert. 3.

1674. such cases, will not import tyranny and usurpation, or an inconsistency with the universal privilege, that all Christians have, to be led by the Spirit; neither will the pretences of any contradicting them, or refusing to submit upon the account they see it not, or so, excuse them from being really guilty of disobeying God.

Assert. 1. proved. For the first, to those that believe the Scripture, there will need no other probation, than that of Matt. xxviii. 20, 'And lo, I am with you alway even unto the end of the world.' And xvi. 18, 'And the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.'

The infallible Spirit the gates of hell cannot prevail against. Now if the church of Christ were so destitute of the Spirit of God, that in case of difference there were not any found, that by the infallible Spirit could give a certain judgment; would not then the gates of hell prevail against it? For where is strife and division, and no effectual way to put an end to it, there not only the gates, but the courts and inner chambers of darkness prevail; for where envying and strife is, there is confusion and every evil work.

But that there may be here no ground of mistake, or supposition, that we were annexing infallibility to certain persons, or limiting the church to such; I understand not by the church, every particular gathering or assembly, circumscribed to any particular country or city: for I will not refuse, but divers of them, both apart and together, if not established in God's power, may err. Nor yet do I lay the absolute stress upon a general assembly of persons, as such, picked and chosen out of every one of those particular churches; as if what the generality or plurality of those conclude upon, were necessarily to be supposed to be the infallible judgment of truth: though to such an assembly of persons truly stated (as they ought) in God's power, he hath heretofore revealed his will in

The erring church or people—

such cases; and yet may, as the most probable way (which shall be spoken of hereafter:) yet such, as a mere assembly, is not conclusive. Nor yet do I understand by the church, every gathering or assembly of people, who may hold sound and true principles, or have a form of truth; for some may lose the life and power of godliness, who notwithstanding may retain the form or notions of things, but yet are to be turned away from, because in so far (as I observed before) as sanctification, to wit, those that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, make the church, and give the right definition to it: where that is wholly wanting, the church of Christ ceaseth to be; and there remains nothing but a shadow without substance. Such assemblies then are like the dead body, when the soul is departed, which is no more fit to be conversed with; because it corrupts, and proves noisome to the living. But by the church of Christ I understand all those, that truly and really have received and hold the truth, as it is in Jesus, and are in measure sanctified, or sanctifying in and by the power and virtue thereof, working in their inward parts: and this may be made up of divers distinct gatherings or churches in several countries or nations: I say, so long as these or any of them do retain that, which justly entitles them the church or churches of Christ, (which they may be truly called) though there may fall out some differences, divisions, or schisms among them: as we may see, there was no small dissension in the church of Antioch, and yet it ceased not to be a church, Acts xv. 2, and 1 Cor. i. 11.

1674.

Having the form of truth.

The true church.

'For it hath been declared unto me of you, my brethren, that there are contentions among you,' and yet verse 2, he entitles them the church of God, them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus; so long, I say, as they truly retain this title of the

1674. church of Christ, as being really such, there will never be wanting the certain judgment of truth. For which, besides the positive promise of Christ before mentioned, (which is not without blasphemy to be called in question, or doubted of,) I shall add these reasons. That seeing the church of Christ is his body, of which he is the head, it were to make Christ negligent of his body, who stiles himself the good shepherd, and hath said, he will never leave nor forsake his own; or else (which is worse) it will infer a possibility of error, or mistake in Christ, in whom, as the head are the eyes of the body, by which it is to be ruled in all things. Next, we never find in all the Scripture since the Gospel, that ever this was wanting; but that God still gave infallible judgment by his Spirit in some of the respects above mentioned. If the transactions and controversies of the after centuries be alleged, I will boldly affirm and prove, that there was never a true judgment wanting, so long as the nature and essence of the true church was retained: if any will needs affirm otherwise, let them show me where, and I shall answer it. Though I deny not (that after the mystery of iniquity did begin to work, or had so wrought first by intermixing, and afterward by altogether forsaking the nature of truth, retaining only the bare name of the church) but that there might be some scattered ones, here and there one in a nation, and now and then one in an age, who by the power and virtue of the Spirit of life working in them, might be truly sanctified; yet these were but as witnesses in sackcloth, no ways sufficient to give these assemblies, in which they were engrossed, the appellation of the church of Christ, coming no more under observation by the generality, nor having as to them any more influence, than some tittle, or scarcely discernible sparks of fire

The certain judgment of truth is never wanting in the church of Christ.

Witnesses in sackcloth.

in many great heaps and mountains of ashes. 1674.
And thus much to prove, that where there is any gathering or assembly, which truly and properly may be called the church of Christ, the infallible judgment will never be wanting in matters of controversy.

Assert. 2. Proved. Secondly, that ordinarily God hath in the communicating of his will under his gospel employed such, whom he had made use of in gathering of his church, and in feeding and watching over them, though not excluding others. For as in a natural body (to which the church of Christ is compared) the more substantial and powerful members do work most effectually; and their help is most necessary to supply any defect or trouble in the body: so also, if there be diversities of gifts in the church (as is above proved) and some have a greater measure, and some a lesser; those that have the greater, are more capable to do good and to help the body in its need, than others, that are weaker, and less powerful: since there are strong and weak, babes and young men, 'who have overcome the evil One, and in whom the word of God abideth;' such are more able, when the enemy besets, to resist (having already overcome) than others, who are but yet wrestling, and not conquerors. Now, every controversy and dissension in the church comes from the besetments of the enemy; yet if any of these strong or young men, or powerful members, go from their station, it is not denied, but that they are as weak as any; and it is presupposing their faithfulness in their place, that I thus affirm, and no otherwise. Nor yet do I limit the Lord to this method; 'For in him are all the treasures both of our wisdom and strength;' and the weakest in his hand are as strong as the strongest, who may now, as well as heretofore, kill a Goliah by the hand of little David: yet we see, the Lord

From the besetments of the enemy dissensions arise.

1674. doth ordinarily make use of the strong to support the weak; and indeed, when such as may be termed weak, are so made use of, it alters the nature of their place, and constitutes them in a higher and more eminent degree. For though it was little David, it was also he that was to be king of Israel. Though the apostles were mean men among the Jews; yet they were such, as were to be the apostles of the Lord of glory, instruments to gather the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and to proclaim the acceptable day of the Lord. And though Paul was once accounted the least of all the saints, a child born out of due time; yet was he him, who was to be the greatest apostle of the Gentiles.

Now then let us consider, whom the Lord makes use of in the affairs of the primitive church, and through whom he gave forth his infallible judgment? Did he not begin first by Peter? he was the first, that spake in the first meeting they had, Acts i. and who first stood up after the pouring forth of the Spirit; and who first appeared before the council of the Jews, and spake in behalf of the Gospel of Christ: though I am far from calling him (as some do) the prince of the apostles; yet I may safely say, he was one of the most ancient and eminent, and to whom Christ in a manner somewhat more than ordinary had recommended the feeding of his flock. We see also, he was first made use of in preaching to the Gentiles; and what weight his and James's words had in the contest about circumcision towards the bringing the matter to a conclusion, Acts xv. Yet that we may see, infallibility was not inseparably annexed to him, he was found blameable in a certain matter, Gal. ii. 11. notwithstanding his sentence was positively received in many particulars.

So also the apostle Paul argues from his gathering of the churches of Corinth and Galatia, that they ought to be followers of him; and positively concludes in divers things: and upon this supposition exhorts the churches (both he and Peter) in many passages heretofore mentioned, (which I will not, to avoid repetition, again rehearse,) to obey the elders that watch for them; to hold such in reputation, and to submit themselves to them that have addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints, 1 Cor xvi. 15, 16. 1674.

Also we see, how the Lord makes use of John his beloved disciple, to inform and reprove the seven churches of Asia; and no doubt, John (the rest by the usual computation being at that time all removed) was then the most noted and famous elder alive: and indeed, I mind not where, under the gospel, Christ hath used any other method, but that he always in revealing his will hath made use of such, as he himself had before appointed elders and officers in his church. Though it be far from us to limit the Lord, so as to exclude any from this privilege; nor yet on the other hand will the possibility hereof be a sufficient warrant to allow every obscure member to stand up, and offer to rule, judge and condemn the whole body: nor yet is it without cause, that such an one's message is jealoused, and called in question, unless it have very great evidence, and be bottomed upon some very weighty and solid cause and foundation. And God doth so furnish those whom he raises up, in a singular manner, of which (as I said) I mind no instance in the New Testament: and in the Old we see, though it was strange, that little David should oppose himself to the great Goliah, yet he had before that killed both the lion and the bear, which was no less improbable; and which of all is most observable, was before that time

1674. by the appointment of God, and the hand of the prophet anointed king of Israel. Compare the 16th and 17th chap. of the 1st. of Samuel.

Now as to the third, that any particular persons de facto, or effectually giving out a positive judgment, is no encroaching nor imposing upon their brethren's conscience, is necessarily included in what is said before; upon which for further probation there will only need this short reflection. That for any member or members in obedience to the Lord to give forth a positive judgment in the church of Christ, is their proper place and office, they being called to it; and so for them to exercise that place in the body, which the head moves them to, is not to usurp authority over their fellow members: as on the other hand to submit and obey, (it being the place of some so to do,) is not a renouncing a being led by the Spirit; seeing the Spirit leads them so to do: and not to obey, in case the judgment be according to truth, and the Spirit lead to it, is, no doubt, both offensive and sinful. And that all this may be supposed in the church of Christ without absurdity, and so establish the above-mentioned propositions, will appear by a short review of the former passages.

Assert. 3. proved.

If that Peter and James their giving a positive judgment in the case of difference in divers particulars, did not infer them to be imposers, so neither will any so doing now, being led to it by the same authority: every one may easily make the application. And on the contrary, if for any to have stood up and resisted their judgment, pretending an unclearness, or so, and thereby held up the difference after their sentence, breaking the peace and unity of the church, (things being concluded with as it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us,) I say, if

Acts xv. 21.

such would have given just cause of offence, and have been cut off, as despisers of dignities of old, will not the like case now occurring hold the same conclusion? Now whether those propositions do not hold upon the principles before laid down and proved, I leave to every judicious and impartial reader to judge. 1674.

Moreover we see, how positive the apostle Paul is in many particulars throughout all his epistles, inasmuch as he saith, 2 Thess. iii. v. 14, 'If any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed.' And in many more places before mentioned, where he commands them both to obey him and several others, who were appointed (no doubt by the Spirit of God) to be rulers among them; and yet who will say, that either the apostle did more than he ought, in commanding? Or they less, than they were obliged to, in submitting? And yet neither were to do any thing contrary or more, than the Spirit of God in themselves led them to, or allowed them in. And if the church of God bear any parity or proportion now in these days, with what it did of old (as I know no reason why it should not) the same things may now be supposed to take effect, that did then; and also be lawfully done upon the like occasion proceeding from the same Spirit, and established upon the same basis and foundation. And thus much as to that part, to show, in whom the power of decision is; which being seriously and impartially considered, is sufficient to clear us from the tyranny either of popery, or any other of that nature, with those that are not either wilfully blind, or very ignorant of popish principles, as the judicious reader may observe. But seeing, to manifest that difference, was one of those

Submission and obedience to the judgment of truth, the Spirit of God leads into.

1674. things proposed to be considered of, I shall now come to say something of it in its proper place.

SECT. VIII.

How this government altogether differeth from the oppressing and persecuting principality of the church of Rome, and other anti-christian assemblies.

Head III. Propos. 3, proved. Whatever way we understand the popish principles in this matter, whether of those that are most devoted to the see of Rome, as the king of Spain's dominions, and the princes of Italy; the Jesuits and generality of all those called religious orders, who hold, that *Papa in cathedrâ non potest errare, licet absque concilio;* that is, That the pope in his chair cannot err, though without a council; or of those that are less devoted, who plead this infallibility in the pope and council lawfully convened, who yet by the more zealous are reckoned petty schismatics; I say, whatever way we take them, all those that do profess themselves members of the Romish church, and are so far such, as to understand their own principles, do unquestionably acknowledge,

Principles of the Romish church.

I. First, That no general council can be lawfully called, without the bishop of Rome, as Christ's vicar and Peter's successor, call it.

II. Secondly, That either he himself, or some for him, as his legates, must be there present, and always preside.

III. Thirdly, That the members having vote, are made up of bishops or presbyters, or commissioners from the several orders, being of the clergy.

Fourthly, that what is concluded on by plurality of votes, and agreed to by the pope and his legates, must necessarily be supposed to be the judgment of the infallible Spirit. 1674 IV.

Fifthly, that all the members of the church are bound implicitly to receive and believe it, because it proceeds from a council to be accounted lawful in the respects above mentioned, without regard to the intrinsic or real truths of the things prescribed, or bringing them in any respect to the test or examination of the Spirit of God in themselves, or the Scripture's testimony, or their agreement or disagreement with truths formerly believed and received: for so much as to prove or try them by way of doubt, they reckon a breach of the first command; as on the other hand a matter of merit, implicitly to receive and believe them, however inconsistent with the testimony of the Spirit in one's own heart, Scripture, truth and reason. V.

Sixthly, that no man as a member of the church of Christ in that simple capacity, unless a clergyman, or the ambassador of some king, &c. can be admitted to sit, vote, or give his judgment. VI.

Seventhly, that it is in no respect to be supposed, that any members, especially laics, whether in a particular city, country or nation, may meet concerning any things relating to the faith and worship of the church, and give by the Spirit of God any judgment; but that all such meetings are to be accounted schismatical and unlawful. And VII.

Lastly, that the promise of infallibility, and the gates of hell not prevailing, is necessarily annexed to the pope and council called and authorized in the manner above expressed. VIII.

Now if to deny every one of these propositions, wherein all understanding men know the errors and abuses of the Romish church consist,

1674. be to be popish; then indeed may we be supposed to be one with the Papists in this matter, but no otherwise: so that the very mentioning of these things is sufficient to show the difference betwixt us and them. But if any will needs plead our agreement with them thus:

Objection. The Papists affirm an infallibility of judgment in the church of Christ, and so do you; therefore you are one with Papists.

Answ. 1. I answer, that proves no more our oneness in this matter, then if it should be said, the Papists plead that, God ought to be worshipped, and so do you; therefore ye agree: notwithstanding of the vast differences as to that, which is not only known betwixt us and them, but betwixt them and all Protestants, who agree more with them in the matter of worship, than we do.

Answ. 2. Next again, infallibility in the church, (according as we hold it, and I have above defined it,) no man upon our supposition (or *hypothesis*) can deny it. For since we first assert, as a principle, that no gathering, no church, nor assembly of people, however true their principles or exact their form be, are to be accounted the church of Christ, except the infallible Spirit lead and guide; what can be the hazard to say, that in such a church there is still an infallible judgment? Indeed, this is so far from Popery, that it resolves in a proposition quite contradictory to them. The Romanists say, that the infallible Spirit always accompanies the outward visible professors, and is annexed to the external succession of bishops and pastors, though ever so vicious as to their lives: yea, though perfect * atheists and infidels in their private judgments, yet if outwardly professing the catholic faith, and subjection to the church, they must be partakers of the infallible Spirit. We say the quite contrary, that where there is either viciousness of per-

The true church is led by the infallible Spirit.

* For some popes have been known to deny, or at least to doubt the truth of the Scriptures, as to the history of Christ, and to call in question the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection.

sons, or unsoundness of judgment in the particular members, these cannot, by virtue of any outward call or succession they have, or any profession they make, or authority they may pretend to, so much as claim an interest in any part of the church of Christ, or the infallible Spirit. 1674.

So then, if we admit none to be members of the church, but such as are led and guided by the Spirit, it will be no popery in the second place to affirm, that where there is a company of people so gathered, who are not any longer to retain justly the name of the church of Christ, than they are led and guided by his Spirit, or a church so qualified and designed, there is still an infallible judgment. So that this infallibility is not annexed to the persons, to the succession, to the bare visible profession, (though true, which the church of Rome is denied to be,) or to any society, because of its profession; but singly and alone to the true, real and effectual work of sanctification and regeneration, the new creature brought forth in the heart: and this is the spiritual man, which the apostle saith, judgeth all things, 1 Cor. ii. 15. To affirm, there is an infallibility here, cannot well be condemned by any, or whoso doth, must needs say, the Spirit of God is fallible: for we place the infallibility in the Spirit and in the power, not in the persons. And so these are the degrees we ascend by; 'Because such and such men are led by the Spirit of God, and are obedient to the grace in their hearts, therefore are they members and officers in the church of Christ. And because they are members of the church of Christ in the respect before declared, therefore there is an infallible judgment among them.' We do not say, because such men profess the Christian faith, and have received an outward ordination, The infallible judgment where it is.

1674. and so are by a lawful succession formally established officers in the church, when they meet together, (according to certain rules above declared,) there is an infallibility annexed to their conclusions, and they cannot but decide what is right; or rather, what they decide must needs be supposed to be right. Who seeth not here a vast disproportion?

Now we differ herein fundamentally, that is, as to the very basis and foundation upon which we build; and that not only from the church of Rome, but also from the generality of Protestants in this matter. All Protestants do acknowledge a general council to be useful, yea, necessary in the case of division or debate; let us consider the basis upon which they proceed, and the stress they lay upon it.

The constitution of a synod or general council among—

1. Protestants.

First, All jointly, both the prelatical and presbyterial, will have this synod or council to consist of a convocation of the clergy, chosen and sent from the particular congregations, with some few laic elders, called together by the civil magistrate, in case he be one in judgment with them.

They decide by plurality of votes. And though they assume not an absolute infallibility, in that they reckon it possible for them to err; yet do they reckon their decisions obligatory upon their supposed consonancy to the Scripture: and however do affirm, that the civil magistrate hath power to constrain all to submit and obey; or else to punish them either by death, banishment, imprisonment, confiscation of goods, or some other corporeal pain; even though such be persuaded and offer to make appear, that the decisions they refuse, are contrary to the Scriptures.

2. Papists.

And lastly: (among the papists) none, though otherwise confessed to be a member of the

church both knowing and sober, except commissionate in some of the respects above declared, can be admitted to sit, vote and give his judgment. 1679.

Any that will be at the pains to apply this to the foundation I before laid of the infallibility of judgment, in that we may account only to be truly called the church of Christ, will easily see the great difference betwixt us; which I shall sum up in these particulars: 3. We differ from them both.

First, Do we exclude any member of the church of Christ, that may be truly accounted so, to tell his judgment? 1.

Secondly, Do we say, man ought to be persecuted in his outwards for his dis-assent in spirituals? 2.

Thirdly, Do we plead, that decision is to pass conclusive, because of the plurality of votes? 3.

And much more; which the reader may observe, from what is already mentioned: which that it may be all more obvious at one view, will appear somewhat clearly by this following figure; which will give the reader an opportunity to recollect, what lay heretofore more scattered.

I. The Romanists say,	II. The generality of Protestants say,
1. That there is an infallibility in the church: which infallibility is, when the pope calls a general council of bishops, &c. that whatsoever they conclude and agree upon, must needs be the infallible judgment of the Spirit of God, because of the pro-	1. That though all synods and councils may err; yet such assemblies are needful for the edification of the church. That such do consist of a convocation of the clergy, with some few laics particularly chosen. That all others, except those

West. Conf. of Faith. Chap.

1674. mise of Christ, that he would never suffer the gates of hell to prevail against his church.

2. And that the pope and council, made up of certain of the clergy, having one outward succession, and being lawfully ordained according to the canons, are that church, to which that promise is made, however wicked or depraved they be; yet this infallible judgment follows them, as being necessarily annexed to their office, in which the authority still stands in its full strength and vigour.

3. So that there lies an obligation upon the whole body of the church to obey their decrees: and such as do not, are not only certainly damned for their disobedience, but that it is the duty of the civil magistrate to punish such by death, banishment or imprisonment, &c. in case they refuse.

so elected, have not any right to vote or give judgment.

2. That such an assembly so constitute, may ministerially determine controversies of faith, cases of conscience, matters of worship, and authoritatively determine the same. The decision is to be by plurality of votes, without any necessary respect to the inward holiness or regeneration of the persons; if so be they be outwardly called, ordained and invested in such a place and capacity, as gives them an authority to be members of such an assembly.

3. What they thus decide (as they judge according to the Scripture) ought to be received with reverence, and submitted to: and those that do not, to be punished by the civil magistrate by death, banishment or imprisonment, though they declare and be ready to evidence, that it is, because they are not agreeable to the Scripture, they refuse such decrees.

III. The Quakers say,

1. That whereas none truly ought, nor can be accounted the church of Christ, but such as are in a measure sanctified or sanctifying by the grace of God, and led by his Spirit; nor yet any made officers in the church, but by the grace of God and inward revelation of his Spirit, (not by outward ordination or succession:) from which none is to be excluded, if so called, whether married, or a tradesman, or a servant. 1674. The sanctified members.

2. If so be, in such a church there should arise any difference, there will be an infallible judgment from the Spirit of God, which may be in a general assembly; yet not limited to it, as excluding others: and may prove the judgment of the plurality; yet not to be decided thereby, as if the infallibility were placed there, excluding the fewer. In which meeting or assembly upon such an account, there is no limitation to be of persons particularly chosen; but that all that in a true sense may be reckoned of the church, as being sober and weighty, may be present and give their judgment. Their infallible judgment.

3. And that the infallible judgment of truth (which cannot be wanting in such a church) whether it be given through one or more, ought to be submitted to, not because such persons give it, but because the Spirit leads so to do: which every one coming to in themselves, will willingly and naturally assent to. And if any through disobedience or unclearness, do not all that the church ought to do, she is to deny them her spiritual fellowship; in case the nature of their disobedience be of that consequence, as may deserve such a censure; but by no means for matter of conscience to molest, trouble, or persecute any in their outwards. —To be submitted unto.

1674. Who will be at the pains to compare these three seriously together, I am hopeful, will need no further argument to prove the difference.

Objection. But if any will further object, What, if it fall out *de facto*, that the teachers, elders, or plurality do decide, and from thence will say, this is like the church of Rome, and other false churches?

Answer. It will be hard to prove that to be an infallible mark of a wrong judgment, as we have not said it is of a right. And, indeed, to conclude it were so, would necessarily condemn the church in the apostles' days, where we see, the teachers and elders, and so far as we can observe, the greater number did agree to the decision, Acts i. 15. For if the thing be right, and according to truth, it is so much the better, that the elders and greater number do agree to it; and if wrong, their affirming it will not make it right: and truly, a gathering, where the elders and greater number are always or most frequently wrong, and the younger and lesser number right, is such, as we cannot suppose the true church of Christ to be. And if any will plead, that there is now no infallible judgment to be expected from the Spirit of God in the church, it (no doubt) will leave the dissenters as much in the mist, and at as great a loss, as those they dissent from; both being no better than blind men, hitting at random, which will turn Christianity into scepticism. And though we may acknowledge, that this uncertainty prevails in the generality of those called churches; yet we do firmly believe (for the reasons above declared, and many more that might be given) that the true church of Christ has a more solid, stable foundation; and being never separated from Christ, her head, walks in a more certain, steady and unerring path.

THE CONCLUSION.

The substance, then, of what is asserted and proved in this Treatise, resolves in these following particulars: A summary recollection of the whole.

First, That in the church of Christ, when it consists of a visible people (for I speak not here of the church in the dark night of apostacy, that consisted not of any society visibly united) gathered into the belief of certain principles, and united in the joint performance of the worship of God, as meeting together, praying, preaching, &c. there is and still must be a certain order and government. I.

Secondly, That this government, as to the outward form of it, consists of certain meetings, appointed principally for that end; yet not so, as to exclude acts of worship, if the Spirit move thereunto. II.

Thirdly, The object of this government is two-fold, outwards and inwards. The outwards relate mainly to the care of the poor, of widows and fatherless; where may be also included marriages, and the removing of all scandals in things undeniably wrong: the inwards respect an apostacy either in principles or practices, that have a pretence of conscience, and that either in denying some truths already received and believed; or asserting new doctrines, that ought not to be received. Which again, (to subdivide) may either be in things fundamental, and of great moment; or in things of less weight in themselves, yet proceeding from a wrong spirit, and which in the natural and cer- III.

1674. tain consequence of them tend to make schisms, divisions, animosities, and in sum, to break that bond of love and unity, that is so needful to be upheld and established in the church of Christ. And here come also under this consideration all emulations, strifes, back-bitings and evil surmisings.

IV. Fourthly, That in the true church of Christ, (according to the definition above given of it,) there will in such cases of differences and controversies still be an infallible judgment from the Spirit of God, either in one or other, few or more.

V. Fifthly, That this infallible judgment is only and unalterably annexed and seated in the Spirit and power of God; not to any particular person or persons, meeting or assembly, by virtue of any settled ordination, office, place or station, that such may have or have had in the church; no man, men, nor meeting, standing or being invested in any authority in the church of Christ upon other terms, than so long as he or they abide in the living sense and unity of the life in their own particulars; which whosoever one or more inwardly departs from, *ipso facto* loses all authority, office, or certain discerning, he or they formerly have had; though retaining the true principles and sound form, and (may be) not fallen into any gross practices, as may declare them generally to be thus withered and decayed.

VI. Sixthly, That Jesus Christ under the gospel hath ordinarily revealed his will in such cases through the elders, and ministers of the church, or a general meeting; whose testimony is neither to be despised or rejected without good

cause. Neither is their taking upon them really to decide, any just ground to charge them with imposition, or to quarrel with their judgment; unless it can be proved, that they are decayed, and have lost their discerning, as above. 1674.

Seventhly, That to submit and obey in such cases, is no detracting from the common privilege of Christians to be inwardly led by the Spirit, seeing the Spirit has led some heretofore so to do, and yet may. And that every pretence of unclearness is not a sufficient excuse for disobedience, seeing that may proceed from obstinacy, or a mind prepossessed with prejudice: yet say I not, any ought to do it, before they be clear; and who are every way right, will not want clearness, in what they ought to do. VII.

And lastly, That these principles are no ways tainted with imposition, or contrary to true liberty of conscience: and that they fundamentally differ from the usurpations both of Popery, Prelacy and Presbytery, or any other of that nature. VIII.

Robert Barclay.

ROBERT BARCLAY

HIS

VINDICATION,

WHEREIN

The Scruples and Mistakes some have had touching his Book, called THE ANARCHY OF THE RANTERS, *are cleared, and the ground, upon which W. R.'s Papers against it are built, removed; the Substance of the Papers being briefly answered by way of Epistle to Friends, who therein have or may be concerned.*

WHICH MAY SERVE, AS AN

Explanatory Postscript

TO

ROBERT BARCLAY'S BOOK OF GOVERNMENT.

Aberdeen Prison, the Sixth of the First month, 1679.

1679. *Dear Friends and Brethren,*

UNTO all my dear Friends and Brethren, unto whose hands this paper may come, or who may be any ways more particularly concerned in the contents hereof, the salutation

tion of my unfeigned love in that unchangeable truth, whereunto it hath pleased the Lord to call me according to his great mercy, so as to be a partaker in some measure of the peace and glory, which in this day is revealed; wherewith my heart hath been often filled, as I have waited in faithfulness, according to the dispensation of light manifested in me and to me. 1674.

R. B.'s ministry.

And since it hath pleased God to make me a living witness of the precious truth, and to commit unto me any share of the ministry thereof, my conscience bears me witness in the sight of God, that I have laboured (according to my knowledge) to follow love and peace with all my brethren, and to do those things, which might tend to advance, strengthen, and confirm unity and brotherly love: as also to avoid, what had a tendency to beget strife, jealousies, or evil surmises. Likewise I have studied as well in my public testimony, as in my writings, to beware of any thing, that to my understanding might minister just occasion of stumbling or offence to the least of my brethren, or the youngest and weakest babe in the truth: as such, as are conversant with me in my own country, as well as those elsewhere, where I have travelled, can bear me witness.

His writings.

His Anarchy, &c.

Nevertheless as I cannot shun my part of that labour and service, which my Lord and Master Christ Jesus calls me to; so, in obedience to his requirings, near five years ago I wrote some sheets concerning the lawfulness and necessity of the government, and order of the truth: having principally and only in my view therein, to bear a faithful testimony against all false liberty and disorder on the one hand, and against imposition and dominion on the other hand; intending no less to guard against the one, than the other: and this I did with particular re-

1674. spect to some of my near friends, whom I found liable to some mistakes in that matter. And I do sincerely declare before God, (who knows I speak the truth and lie not,) that in the writing thereof I had not the least purpose nor intention to meddle with or concern myself in any of those debates, that have since fallen out amongst Friends in Westmoreland, or elsewhere, relative thereunto: much of which, as it had not then a being, when I wrote that book, so the substance of that matter was then unknown to me. And I can safely say, that I had not so much as one remote thought, or any remembrance of the least beginning of that affair, which I knew during the time of my writing of it: so that nothing could be intended by me therein relative to that matter. Which as it is sufficient to vindicate my innocency and integrity to all, as to intentions; so I cannot forbear also to signify, that as often as I have had occasion, seriously and in the holy fear and dread of God to reflect upon these papers, (which I have often done, because of the opposition they have met with from some,) I have never found occasion to repent or retract any thing from the matter or principles there asserted by me; but have the testimony and approbation of God's light and Spirit in my heart for my work and service in that matter.

Debates in Westmoreland.

His innocency in that matter.

The soundness of the book.

Moreover, albeit I laboured with all the care and circumspection I could, so to express myself, as not to offend in a word; yet had I known, or could have foreseen, that any thing in the wording or expressing thereof, would have stumbled or hurt any; I have that tenderness, (and hope always to have,) to the least of the household of faith, that I would have rather omitted or changed any such words or expressions, than ministered them any occasion of dissatisfaction. And therefore I was not a little sur-

Expressions stumbled at.

prised, when I understood, that several sheets of paper were spread abroad in opposition to that book of mine, at a time when I was wholly a stranger to those proceedings, by reason of my imprisonment for the truth's sake, especially by William Rogers, a person who not only to myself, but afterwards before many witnesses, professed a singular respect and friendship to me; and yet without once acquainting me. 1674.

His imprisonment.

Now what followed upon my meeting with that person at London near two years ago, will appear by a copy of William Rogers' own letter (annexed hereto) and the sense of those brethren, who were witnesses to that transaction: so that resting thereupon in my own innocency (especially, since those in such places, where the greatest dissatisfaction was said to be, did for the most part signify to me their satisfaction) I forbore hitherto to meddle any more in that matter, hoping it might have died of itself.

W. R.'s satisfaction.

And being conscientiously gathered in that Spirit, wherein I desired rather to bear, than by seeking too earnestly to vindicate myself, any ways advance or foment controversies amongst Friends by multiplying papers; having some hope, he might (according to the advice of the brethren) have called in his papers: and as what related to me, his letter sufficing, wherein he expresses my sense of the things scrupled by him, to his own satisfaction, and his belief of the soundness of my principles.

R. B.'s averseness to foment controversies.

And truly, I have been so willing to starve that spirit, that hath any life in divisions or controversies of this kind, either in myself, or others; that since I read those papers of W. R.'s at London, now near two years ago, I have not so much as once looked out upon them, until now. And albeit I might have mentioned that transaction without any disadvantage to myself, but

1674. otherwise; (as most, if not all present can testify, yea, W. R.'s own letter doth import;) yet I do not remember, that I did ever so much as once mention it to any, unless their inquiry occasioned it: yea, I have wholly concealed it to this day from divers Friends, in whom I am nearly concerned; and whom I know, would be very apt to justify and commend my whole procedure in that matter. So unwilling was I to fill the minds of any with such things; being otherways weightily concerned as well with the inward work of the Lord in my own soul, as in those concerns of truth's prosperity, both abroad, where I had a service, and at home, with respect to the present continued sufferings, Friends lie under here. But since he hath so far walked in another method, as to labour to keep up the remembrance of these things, and busy the minds of Friends with them, having (as I am informed) made further mention of these papers to my disadvantage, I am constrained to say something in my own defence, and of the truth asserted by me: wherein, as the Lord knows the integrity of my intentions, and the tenderness of my heart, so I hope, my way herein will commend itself to that of God in the consciences of all the tender hearted. And albeit those things, which were chiefly scrupled at by any, be sufficiently cleared by W. R.'s own letter; yet that all may be satisfied in having them from mine own hand, I am free to signify this, as to them. Only I will premise this to the serious consideration of not a few, who seemed to be startled at that book, who retain that tenderness to God, and regard to the hurt of their own souls, as to make conscience unjustly to accuse the innocent; that since it was asserted by some, and entertained as a truth by divers, that that book was writ upon design, and with a particular

The occasion of his vindication.

respect of prejudice to some persons, (whom I did not so much as once think on in writing of it,) with somewhat worse, (which I am not willing to remember, far less to mention,) whether those that propagated and entertained so false and groundless a jealousy to the prejudice of the innocent, have not reason narrowly to examine, what spirit they were influenced by in so doing? (which certainly could not be of God:) and whether they ought not thence to take occasion justly to suspect the effects and fruits of the same spirit in them, even where it hath appeared in things, for which they may have somewhat more to say? Surely, with men of inward tenderness this cannot but have great weight. And albeit that my intentions were so clear in this matter; yet I will not say, but the Lord, ('whose ways are unsearchable, and past finding out,') may have purposed, by those papers seasonably to reprove and single out a wrong spirit: and therefore all concerned, had need in true tenderness and godly fear to beware, how they shut out and turn by the warnings and admonitions of the Lord, by seeking to carp at and find fault with the innocent instruments; lest they be found foolishly, (like those dogs,) to run after, and seek to bite the stone, because they cannot reach the hand that threw it.

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R. B. had no design in writing the book as suggested.

A warning from the Lord.

I have known this by manifold experience to have been a snare to many; and therefore without the least prejudice or reflection upon any (God knows) out of true tenderness and love do desire, it may be seriously weighed in the true light by all, that may feel themselves concerned in this matter.

But now first, as to the things scrupled at, whereas some did suppose, that I did ascribe to Friends' meetings an absolute jurisdiction over men's properties in outward things; therein I

Explanation I. Concerning property.—See above, p. 501, &c.

1674. have been greatly mistaken. For I never intended any such thing; but simply to hold forth that, which, by the apostle to the Corinthians, (1 Cor. vi.) is urged: that whereas there would a manifest scandal arise from Friends going to law together, that therefore such, as will rather go to law, than seek to come to agreement by the interposing of Friends, ought, with a respect to their bringing such a scandal, to be censured; since it cannot be supposed, that any such difference, as to outward things, can fall out among Friends, but some or other may be found, who either by their own knowledge, or by advice and information of such, as may be known in the matter controverted, may bring it to an end.

Friends going to law together.

Explan. II. Decision of differenc s. See above p. 538, &c.

Secondly, That whereas I say, 'There will not be wanting in case of controversy, the Spirit of God to give judgment through one or other in the church of Christ, so long as any assembly can properly, or in any tolerable sense be so called;'—some have supposed, that by those last words I did insinuate, as if any assembly assuming to themselves the name of the church of Christ, and having some show of it, may of right claim the power of such decision, and ought accordingly to be submitted unto: such a thing never entered me; but was far from my intentions. For albeit that I judge, that an assembly may sometimes deserve the name of the church of Christ, or not to have lost the claim, albeit not altogether so fresh and lively, (at least in the generality of its members,) and so under some languishing and hazard to decay, if life do not again come up more abundantly: as may be seen in the example of the seven churches of Asia, whom notwithstanding of the several weaknesses divers of them were under, yet the apostle, or rather the Spirit of Christ by the apostle, dignifies with the name of the churches of

The seven churches of Asia.

Christ. Neither did I intend, to make this judg- 1679.
ment necessary to attend every particular church or assembly: but by the church there I understood it in a more universal sense, that is, some or other among all the churches of Christ; who being spoken of in the complex, may be rightly termed the church of Christ; and this is manifest in the same example of the churches of Asia.

For albeit we might suppose, there might have been wanting in each of them some, to give forth this true judgment concerning them; yet in respect they were such, as in some tolerable supposition might be termed the churches of Christ, albeit some of them had left their first love, and were near to have their candlestick removed; and some had the doctrine of Balaam and of the Nicolitanes; and some suffered the woman Jezebel: and some were lukewarm, and ready to be spewed out: yet we see, God would not suffer them to be without a certain judgment; but gave forth one through the apostle John, who was a member of the church. Rev. ii. 4, 5, 14, 15, 20. Chap. iii. 16.

But to esteem, that any assembly may be tolerably supposed to be the church of Christ, where either the true doctrines and principles are wanting, or the true life and power in some good measure is not felt and known, is far from my thoughts: yea, how far I am contrary minded, may be seen at large in my Apology upon the tenth proposition, now published in English, pp. 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, &c.* False church.

Thirdly, whereas it was thought strange, that I should call doctrines and principles the bonds and terms of our being together, I understand it only of an outward bond: and that I laid the stress upon it no further, appears in that I affirm, those principles and doctrines to be the product of truth's power and virtue upon the heart; Explan. III. Principles a bond.

* See Apol. Prop. 10. S. V. and X.

1679. which appears, by what is printed at the bottom of the 512th page.

And William Rogers saying in his papers, that this was but like the entertainment of Christ in the manger, shows too little of Christian sobriety, and too much of a scornful reflection; for which I will rather choose to forgive him, than therein to contend with him. For how much I value that inward bond (to wit, the life of righteousness) beyond the outward; and that I esteem the outward not at all to be valued, but as it comes from the inward, may be seen throughout all I have written in my Apology upon the tenth proExclusion. position, and elsewhere. And my affirming, that any denying of any of the truth's principles and doctrines is a ground of disowning, was only in respect, that who do so, do manifestly thence make it appear, they have broken the inward bond first, from which that outward did naturally spring and arise.

Explan. IV. Fourthly, If any do suppose, that by my asserting, [the ancient apostolic order was established amongst us upon the right basis and foundation] I intended, that those particular orders relating to outward things, that were among the apostles, either was or were to be established Our order and its foundation. among us, they did much mistake me: for I never purposed any such thing; but only to signify, that by establishing the government and authority in and upon the Spirit only, and such as are led by it, we did establish it upon the same basis and foundation, whereupon, that exConformity from the life. ercised in the church in the days of the apostles, were built. For I am far from believing, that the most exact conformity to the order and method of the church in the apostles' days, or even to what may now be appointed by the same Spirit, without the inward life and virtue go along, signifies any thing: for I know, that

nothing done by mere imitation, will any thing avail in the worship and service of God; and therefore that no act done without conviction, will any ways be profitable to the doer. Yet that hindereth not, but that such as forbear to do what by the testimony of God in his servants is commanded to be performed in the church, are justly to be blamed and be judged therefor, in respect, that through disobedience and unwatchfulness they have blinded themselves from the sight and knowledge of their duty. For if it should be said, no man were to be condemned for not doing that which he sees not to be his duty; then no man were to be condemned, who had by iniquity and unwatchfulness brought hardness and blindness upon himself, for all the iniquities he commits afterwards: and how would this tend to establish ranterism, the substance of which is to bring their consciences to that pass, as not to be sensible of any checks? Then the nations are not to be blamed for all their idolatry, wickedness and superstition, for that they are not sensible of the evil of it? Whereas truth teaches us to believe, that had they been faithful to the small measure of light in things more obvious, it would have further opened and manifested other things. Then should not the Jews have been condemned for crucifying Christ, since Peter says, 'they did it ignorantly'? And Paul testifies, 'that if they had known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.' Yea, then all those, that persecuted and burned the Protestant martyrs, were not to be judged for it, because they suppose they did well in it; even according to Christ's testimony, who says, 'that in killing you, they shall think, they do God good service.' Shall men then never be condemned for doing evil or omitting their duty, because

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The hardened and blinded see not their duty.

The Jews crucifying Christ ignorantly.

Martyrs instanced.

1679. they see it not? What absurdity would follow thereupon, may easily appear. And yet it is strange, that William Rogers in his papers should labour so much against this, affirming very positively, 'that nothing ought to be given forth in the church of Christ, but by way of recommendation, and not of command:' wherein he doth either greatly mistake the matter, as affirmed by me; or otherways run into a far greater inconveniency, than he is aware. For if he mean, that no man of or from himself only, or by virtue of any office or place he either hath, or hath borne in the church of Christ, ought to command any thing to be performed in the church, I freely agree to it, and have asserted the same in very full and ample terms: but if he will say, that no man, albeit really moved by the Spirit of God, ought to go further, than a mere recommendation, it is a most insolent limiting of God under a false pretence of liberty; and will necessarily conclude, that God hath not power to command any thing, unless men be content to agree to it. For the controversy is here drawn to a narrow compass.

For he that will allow, that God hath power to command things to be practised in the church, and that those commands must be conveyed by immediate revelation through some of the members of the church; and that it may fall out, that some of the members of the church may through weakness or unwatchfulness not be sensible; they must either acknowledge, that such are to be condemned; or say, that God hath not power to command; or that there is no such revelations now-a-days, (as do the priests and truth's enemies;) or, that man is not condemnable for disobeying God, if he believe it not to be his duty; which is as much as to say, that unbelief is no sin.

Now let these things be seriously considered, how this is or can be avoided, without granting the things affirmed by me; for what way can the truth be asserted; the honour and just authority of God acknowledged; the necessity of the continuance of immediate revelation affirmed; and the iniquity of unbelief not justified; and the just judgment of God upon the rebellious and disobedient vindicated, without affirming what I have done? and if any can do this in words more wary than I have done, I shall very readily agree to it. For that things may be proposed to the church by way of command, and further than a mere recommendation, the whole current of the Scripture shows, not only to the churches among the Jews, where Moses and the prophets do propose the will of God to be performed very positively and peremptorily; but even under the new covenant, as appears by the eleventh of the Acts, and in many places of Paul's epistles: particulatly that on 2 Thess. iii. 14. If any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed. This then being manifest with respect to those times, I would know of W. R. whether Christ hath now lost any of his authority, as he has left off to rule his church immediately by his Spirit? and whether so to affirm, be not grossly to contradict the ancient and primitive doctrine of Friends? 1679.

Fifthly, Whereas some did suppose, that I did make the difference in the end but very small, betwixt decisive judgment among Friends, and among Papists and other persons, because I say, they place the decisive judgment in the plurality of an assembly made up of their chief teachers and ministers: and albeit I limit it not to that, yet I seem to affirm, that it most usually is so con- Explan. V. Decisive judgment.

1679. veyed; and so the difference only is, that they make it always so, and I most usually.

To this I answer; that if in charity I may suppose this insinuation comes not from malice, at least it proceeds from great ignorance of the popish principle: and it were better for such to be silent, than to judge of things they do not understand. For the difference here is very great and fundamental, in respect both Papists and others do affirm, that men by virtue of an outward succession or vocation may have true right to sit, and give judgment in such assemblies; albeit they be void of true holiness, and have not the grace of God, which (they say) is no necessary qualification to the being of a minister. So that they place the power of judgment not only in the plurality of votes absolutely (in which we differ from them) but also in the judgment of such, as may without any absurdity by their own principles be supposed to be all and each of them void of the true grace of God, and whom, even supposing them to be gracious, they affirm not at all to be led by the immediate Spirit of Christ, which they say, is now ceased. Now can there be a greater difference than is betwixt these two? (to wit) to affirm,—

Papists pleading succession, &c.

—Votes.

That the power of decision is in an assembly of men being members, of which assembly the grace of God is no necessary qualification, and who deny any such thing, as to be immediately led by the Spirit of Christ, as a thing not attainable in these days; and yet that all Christians must be subject to what the plurality of such an assembly, so constituted, do determine? and to affirm,—

The false decision.

That the power of decision is only and alone in the Spirit, not necessarily tied to a general assembly; but if it please God to make use of such an assembly, yet neither to the plurality of them, but

The true decision.

in and through such of his servants, as he sees meet. And that none are capable or can be supposed to be members of such an assembly, or esteemed such, from whom such a judgment can be expected, or ought to be received, unless they be men, in whom the grace of God not only is, but hath truly wrought to mortify and regenerate them in a good measure: in whom the judgment of truth really proceeding from the Spirit, will be manifest to all, who are truly faithful; who will accordingly submit thereunto, not with respect to the men, but the authority of God manifested in and through them. So that such, as see not this judgment aright, will be justly condemnable of God for their not submitting; not as if they should be accepted of God, if they did obey before conviction, but because they brought this blindness upon themselves through their unfaithfulness and unwatchfulness, which renders them both guilty of the blindness and of the disobedience occasioned by it. 1679.

Now the vastness of the difference that is here manifest, cannot but be obvious to any, that will read and consider this impartially, and without prejudice.

Thus I have passed through all the things that I understood any did scruple at; there being nought else, that I remember, which is not either relative to some of the particulars before mentioned, or included in them. But if any wonder, why I have chosen this method, and not rather made a formal reply to W. R.'s papers? I hope, these following reasons will satisfy all sober and truly peaceable minded Friends, who love truth's prosperity more than jangling, as a sufficient reason for my so doing.

Reason I.

First, Forasmuch as the greater part of what W. R. has writ, is wholly built upon the particulars heretofore mentioned, which particulars being cleared, and his mistakes therein removed

1679. (as his own letter signifies) the superstructure falls of itself, as not touching my intentions, nor yet reaching me; but only that apprehension he supposed to be my meaning, and to follow from my words: for which end he oftentimes is so wary as to affirm in his papers, that to his understanding my words seemed to import, and my meaning seems to be so. In which things since himself saw (and I have manifested) his mistake, I am not so great a lover of contention, as to busy either myself, or the minds of others, with the men of straw of his making.

But yet he was not so modest, nor kind to his old friend, but that sometimes he did seek to render my words odious (albeit the mistake be his own) by a reiterate repetition, in repeating that of the tolerable supposition of a church at every turn above twenty times: but also he very obviously wrests my words, and seeks to impose upon me a disadvantageous meaning, that he may furnish himself an occasion thereafter the more liberally to smite at me. As where from the apostle's words [saying, 'And we have confidence, ye will do the things we command you,' &c. and in another place, where he desires those to whom he writes, 'to submit themselves to such as rule over them'] I infer, that some did appoint and ordain some things, and that there lay an obligation in point of duty on others to obey, &c.

Upon which W. R. very unfairly observes, it is to be doubted, his meaning is, others ought to obey, whether they see it their duty, yea or nay. I leave such dealing to the reader's judgment: surely, it is not answerable to that candour and justice, that W. R. lays claim to.

Reason II. Secondly, Because W. R. in these papers has taken occasion to extend himself in long digressions upon other matters, not treated upon in that book, and takes oft occasion to insinuate

his jealousies of persons and things, that I med- 1679.
dled not with: as where he makes a large disgression (which takes up several pages) concerning the constitution of the second day's meeting at London, endeavouring what he can, to represent the hurt and abuse of it; and where he divers times insinuates, that some are usurpers, or seeking to usurp a jurisdiction over the consciences of the brethren; and that some do believe, that God hath raised up some outward person to be among the children of light at this day, as Moses was of old among the children of Israel, &c. And that some do lead many into a temptation to run beyond their line, by procuring a multitude of hands to confirm, what is given forth by one, or at least by a very few: with divers other things of this kind, which takes up no small part of his papers. Now these things are not pertinently brought in against me; nor would I judge myself less impertinent to enlarge in a contest concerning those things, which do not immediately concern the things under debate; since the person or persons aimed at by him in these reflections, may take occasion, as they find it their place, to answer: and perhaps may have had opportunity, to have discoursed with him divers of these things ere this time upon other occasions.

W. R.'s Reflections.

Thirdly, Since a considerable part of W. R.'s papers is taken up to evidence (as he pretends) the impertinent application I made of the several passages of the apostles (which he thinks I have been too curious to collect) that make mention of these words, order, rule, command and government; how he evinces that, I leave to the serious reader, being the more willing to bear his reflections in that respect, that he is so bold (when he cannot compass his matter otherwise) not only to censure me, but the apostle Paul's say-

Reason III.

1679. ing of 1 Tim. i. 19, 20. (mentioned by me) that it is not only not to the purpose intended by me, but that it is not plain to the purpose Paul himself intended, at least to ordinary capacities: adding, that the method there proposed by the apostle, answers not that, which the light within tells us.

W. R. censures the apostle boldly. Since then the light he follows, is such, as finds fault with the apostle's assertions; I may the more patiently bear his affirming mine to be erroneous. And whereas W. R. labours to make it appear, that the Scriptures brought by me to prove a power of decision in the church, do not affirm any such thing, because in these Scriptures there is no mention made of the church's decision; yet if he consider, that those places do speak of the separating from and cutting off of divers

Judgment evinced. persons, and forsaking their fellowship, to the saints, who make up the church of Christ, it necessarily presupposes a judgment of the church or saints concerning those persons, for which they are so cut off from the fellowship of the body of Christ, which is his church.

Reason IV. Fourthly, A great part of W. R.'s work is but a building up, and then pulling down; wherein he apparently contradicts himself: yea, the whole scope of his book implies a manifest contradiction. For whereas he plainly declares his writing to be a plea for Christian liberty, against judging and censuring one another, holding forth, that diversity of opinions and judgments in matters of conscience (but especially in such matters as relate to discipline and government) is not nor ought to be a breach of unity, which he understands, may be supposed to be the diversities of gifts and administrations mentioned in Scriptures; which he expresses in these words upon Paul in Rom. xiv. So then every one of us shall give an account of himself unto God; let us not therefore judge one another any more.

And again he saith upon verse 34, viz. 'which evidently shows, that inasmuch as every one must answer for himself, it is fit, every one should believe for himself, and so practise, without being imposed upon by others: and this is the ground of all Christian forbearance.' 1679.

A wrong spirit of liberty.

And again, in another place he saith, 'these things considered, and that also we find the apostle's exhorting the churches not to be judging one another with respect to things relating to conscience; there is great need to watch against this censorious, judging spirit, lest, while any are judging their brethren, themselves become castaways. He hath many more expressions of this kind.'

Now, since this is the whole scope of W. R.'s papers, and that he did, yea, hath (since he wrote these papers) acknowledged me to be his Christian brother, and many more (at least them he did repute such) whom he censures, judges and condemns through his whole treatise, yea, since his whole papers are a judging, censuring, and condemning of me and my judgment in things pertaining to conscience, and to my judgment, in matters of government and outward discipline, does not the work imply a manifest contradiction? So his very writing contradicts the matter he writes of and pleads for; especially, since not only he makes some general censure of me and many others professing the same fundamental truths with him; but is very particular and peremptory, yea, insinuating accusations, as if I in particular intended to make way for an authority, to rule over, at least, some of my brethren; as his very conclusion intimates, and in divers other places may be observed. And it will aggravate this injury done by him the more, that the reader may observe, as well in his own letter, as in what is above

W. R. a false accuser.

1679. mentioned, that this his censure was built upon his own mistakes: so that I hope, who consider these things, will acknowledge a sufficient answer is hereby returned, and albeit I myself be fully satisfied; yet I should not have churled the pains of a particular disquisition of every thing in order, as asserted by him (albeit he has not done that to mine) if I had not an aversion from multiplying controversies of this kind: for the desire I have to avoid that sort of work, and not for any strength of argumentation I observe in W. R.'s papers, hath stopped me from so doing. But if any do apprehend that strength of reason in his papers, as to judge I was unable to answer, or that this is not satisfactory; it will but evidence the weakness of their own understanding to the more judicious: and I shall not think much to bear their censure. For I value more my own inward peace, and that of my brethren, than to obtain an applause of my natural capacity; wherein, if any judge that W. R. do surpass me, I shall not therewith be troubled: for I more and more see the excellency of that simplicity that is in the truth; and of that unity, that it leadeth to. And thence do more earnestly than ever desire to witness all, that is of and from self, crucified in me, and brought into true subjection to the cross of Christ; and there alone may be my rejoicing: wherein I am at unity with all those, who make self of no reputation for the seed's sake; that the prosperity of truth may be advanced, and the peace of Israel preserved.

The excellency of the simplicity of truth.

R. Barclay.

LETTER OF WILLIAM ROGERS.

William Rogers's Letter of his and R. Barclay's Discourse about the book before mentioned, in the presence of many brethren; and also a paper signifying the brethren's sense, touching the discourse, then present.

FRIENDS,

It was upon me for several weeks past, if my occasions would any wise permit, to come up to the city of London, to be present among Friends from divers parts of the nation at this time, that so I might have opportunity to confer with Friends, who were dissatisfied with me, touching what I had written in answer to R. Barclay's Book of Government: and a few days before my coming up, R. Barclay being in London writ unto me to come up, that we might have a conference at large touching the same. This his request laid the greater obligation upon me to be present in London at this time. On conference had with him we agreed, that a free meeting might be had with Friends, in whose presence R. B. and myself might in all coolness and moderation confer together; that so all misunderstandings might be removed, and the truth be evidenced to the consciences of the brethren then present. W. R.'s letter clearing R. B.'s Anarchy, &c.

The meeting for that end was this day had, and a very Christian and fair debate was had, to the satisfaction of both of us, as far as I can understand; and the matters chiefly objected by me, were fairly and brother-like, and in much love discoursed: and upon the whole matter I am satisfied, that R. B. is not principled so, as I and others have taken his book to import.

1679. In particular he doth declare that his book teacheth not, that the church of Christ hath jurisdiction over the outward concerns of Friends in case of difference, without assent of the differing parties; and that it was far from his intentions.

Jurisdiction.

For his intention, (as he declares,) was only to manifest, that Friends ought to submit their cases of difference to the decision of the church; and in case of refractoriness, that such persons ought to be disowned.

That though R. B. in one place affirms to this purpose, that there never will, nor can be wanting, in case of controversy, the Spirit of God to give judgment through some or other in the church of Christ, as long as any assembly can properly or in any tolerable supposition be so termed: he declares that the words are sound; and further saith, that thereby he intends no other, but such assemblies, as in reality and truth may be termed the church of Christ.

Submission. And whereas he saith to this purpose; that it is disobedience to God, not to submit to the sentence of such assemblies, though the persons refusing to submit, pretend they see it not; yet he declares, that his meaning thereby is not, that if they submit before conviction of conscience, they therein find acceptance with the Lord: but rather to show, that their want of sight is through disobedience or unwatchfulness to the grace of God in themselves; which if they did take heed thereunto, would show it their duty to obey.

Principles as terms. We also had discourse touching his assertion, that principles and doctrines, &c. believed, through the force of truth on the understanding, are as it were the terms: and in another place of the book produced, it appeared, that he

asserted, there was a more inward bond (viz.) the life of righteousness; and that the book declares, that we are gathered into the belief of the principles and doctrines by the truth its power and influence upon our hearts, and that very bond, by which we become centered into one body and fellowship, &c. And on a debate thereof he acknowledged, that his meaning was not, they were the original bond; but rather as fruits and branches of that bond: and so in that respect might be as an outward bond, whereby we are united in an heavenly society. 1679.

We also had some discourse touching his title-page, wherein he asserts, that the ancient apostolic order of the church of Christ is re-established on its right basis and foundation: touching which he declares, that his meaning is, not only with respect to all the outward orders or forms of discipline in government amongst us; but with respect to the power of God, which in the primitive days was, and now is the great order of the gospel. The order of the gospel.

And though R. Barclay hath given these explications of his meanings, yet the very explications (as he saith) are to be found in his book, if duly weighed.

Having given you an account in short, of what was discoursed this day amongst Friends; this further lies upon me to signify unto you on the behalf of R. Barclay, I am satisfied, that he is not principled, as I and many by some passages in his book took him to be. And since it is so, that many have taken an offence against him for that cause, and (as may be doubted) even so far, as to reject his testimony and service for the truth, it lies upon me as my duty, even for his and the truth's sake, to warn all, that they take heed not to entertain a prejudice against his testimony, on jealousy, that may enter on the score of any ap- R. B. cleared.

1679. prehensions or mistakes of his book, and that answer, that I have given thereto; but rather in an unprejudiced spirit, to wait on the Lord to feel and savour his testimony, even as if the occasion taken had never been.

And I do freely confess, that inasmuch as I published my book, before I gave R. B. notice of my objections and intentions therein, I acted in that respect not according to gospel order, but am justly worthy of blame therein.

W. R. blame worthy. It is with me also to signify unto you, that I am abundantly satisfied, that R. B.'s Book of Government was written at or before the time of its date; for that he solemnly affirms, it was so.

W. Rogers.

The judgment of the meeting. Forasmuch as William Rogers of Bristol hath lately written a book in manuscript, against a book of Robert Barclay's entitled, The Anarchy of the Ranters, and approved at the second day's meeting in London, and hath dispersed his manuscript in several parts of this nation, without so much as first giving either to the said R. Barclay in particular, or the second day's meeting in general, an account of his scruples or dissatisfaction concerning the said book of R. B.'s; contrary to all rules of brotherly love, Christian fellowship, gospel order, and exemplary practice of the church of Christ, to the defamation of the said R. B. the great derogation from the Christian authority of the said meeting, and the general disservice of truth; especially being sent unto persons who at present

are disaffected to the unity of the body of Friends. 1679.
And whereas on the seventh day of the third month, 1677, we whose names are under written, were met together in the city of London in the pure fear and holy dread of the Lord God Almighty, to hear, what the said W. R. had objected against the said book of R. Barclay's—It appeared to us upon deliberate, serious, and impartial hearing of the matter in controversy, that the objections of the said W. R. lay not so much against the matter and substance of the said R. B.'s book, as against his way of expressing some passages therein; and that upon R. B.'s defence and explanation, the said W. R. did declare, that he was satisfied with R. B. as to his principles; but that he thought, some passages in his book might have been better worded; confessing, that he did not brotherly, to publish his book, before he had communicated his exception to the said R. B. and the brethren of the second day's morning meeting in London.

It is therefore the inward sense, advice and judgment of this meeting, that the said W. R. ought forthwith to deliver up into the hands of James Claypole that copy of his said book, (which he hath here with him,) and as speedily as may be, recall all such other copies of his said book, as he knows to be dispersed in the nation, or elsewhere; and that he also ought speedily to write a letter to Friends in all those places, where he doth, or shall know the said book to be dispersed; and therein clear both the said R. B. and the Friends of the second day's meeting in London from all such aspersions, as by means of his said book may be cast upon him or them. And though it doth not appear to this meeting by any thing, that the said W. R. hath objected

1679. or offered, that there is any error or unsoundness of doctrine in the said R. B.'s book; yet forasmuch as there are some terms or expressions therein, which some conceive, might be made yet more plain, easy, and familiar; it is the desire of this meeting, that the said R. B. (as he feels in himself the opening of life thereunto) will, in Christian condescension to the capacity of the weak, write an explanatory postscript to the said book for the sake of all such, as may be supposed to have misapprehended any expression therein.

Henry Jackson.
Joseph Batt.
Thomas Holmes.
John Burnyeat.
Francis Moore.
Stephen Crisp.
Thomas Jeny.
Richard Vickris.
William Gibson.
Ambrose Rigge.
Richard Snead.
James Mammeck.
Thomas Atkins.
John Blakeling.
Charles Harfford.
John Furly, Senior.
Benjamin Furly.
Francis Lea.
Thomas Ellwood.
William Welch.
Stephen Smith.
Thomas Bur.
Thomas Robinson.
George Keith.
John Buy.
Thomas Hill.
Gawen Lowry.
Charles Marshall.
John Osgood.
William Penn.
James Holyday.
James Claypoole.
William Shewen.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The reader may observe, that William Rogers's papers (before annexed) of his discourse with R. B. about some objections against his book, whereupon he acknowledgeth himself satisfied, was written the third month, 1677. And their narrative from Bristol, wherein W. R. and the rest thus reflect against R. B. was written in and about the eleventh and twelfth month, 1677. So that it appears to be eight or nine months after. But is not this like J. S. and J. W.'s papers of condemnation, which W. R. called a rattle? For who could have thought, that W. R. could have had the impudence, as, after he had so plainly confessed, and given it under his own hand, that he was satisfied, to have again published such things against him?

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END OF VOL. I.

TO THE READER.

In printing this edition of Barclay's works, the publisher has adhered closely to the old edition, without altering the phraseology in any respect. Consequently, obsolete terms and expressions will be found, at variance with modern usage and meaning.

This edition has been printed from the London octavo edition of 1718, collated with that of 1692. Errors were discovered in these, and in order to make this as correct as possible, all the three editions have been carefully revised, and those discovered are noted below.

ERRATA for Vol. I.

Page 138, line 36, for *them*, read *him*.
145, 20, for *far*, read *for*.
154, 16, *now*, omitted.
156, 16, for *then*, read *therefore*.
163, 21, for *cite*, read *citest*.
170, 37, for *sanctioned*, read *sanctified*.
183, 11, omit *who*.
202, 14, for *hou*, read *thou*.
227, 2, for *movcd*, read *removed*.
227, 16, omit *not*.
236, 38, omit *of*.
268, 19, for *eternal*, read *external*.
238, 37, *calumnatious*, r. *calumniatious*.
274, 2, for *Scripture*, read *Spirit*.
282, 1, for *casnalty*, read *causality*.
284, 27, for *deeit*, read *deceit*.
290, 16, for *and*, read *any*.
290, 33, *the* omitted.

Page 317, line 35, for *it*, read *is*.
336, 27, for *threat*, read *thereat*.
339, 29, through *that* appearing of *the* light, read through *the* appearing of *that* light.
341, 14, for *strange*, read *strained*.
367, 8, for *thought*, read *thoughts*.
369, 13, *of*, omitted.
390, 33, for *what bught*, read *what then ought*.
479, 29, for *homulgate*, read *homologate*.
495, 6, for *principles*, read *practices*.
520, 13, for *things*, read *thing*.
524, 32, for *devises*, read *devices*.
528, 34, for Eph. i. 8. 11. read Eph. iv. 8. 11.
546, 11, for *then*, read *than*.

We, the undersigned, have carefully compared the 1st and 3d volumes of R. Barclay's Works, published by B. C. Stanton, with the London folio edition of 1692, and (with the exceptions noticed in the errata) believe it to be a correct copy of that edition, no variation appearing that in any respect alters the sense.

George Jones,
Joseph Warrington, M. D.